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ABSTRACT

This student text presents instructional materials for a unit of social science within the Biomedical Interdisciplinary Curriculum Project (BICP), a two-year interdisciplinary precollege curriculum aimed at preparing high school students for entry into college and vocational programs leading to a career in the health field. This particular unit deals with world cultures and their relationship to health and environment. Reading, illustrations, and activities are presented that deal with the social structure of Afghanistan. (CS)

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THE BIOMEDICAL INTERDISCIPLINARY CURRICULUM PROJECT

BIOMEDICAL SOCIAL SCIENCE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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UNIT II

HEALTH, CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT

Part Two: Aq Kupruk

STUDENT TEXT

SE 031 471

BIOMEDICAL SOCIAL SCIENCE

UNIT II

HEALTH, CULTURE AND ENVIRONMENT

STUDENT TEXT, PART TWO: AQ KUPRUK
REVISED VERSION, 1975

THE BIOMEDICAL INTERDISCIPLINARY CURRICULUM PROJECT

SUPPORTED BY THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION

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The materials in this portion of the Student Text for Unit II were originally developed by the American Universities Field Staff in Hanover, New Hampshire. From the many materials the AUFS developed, the Biomedical Interdisciplinary Curriculum Project staff has selected some readings, illustrations and activities which will help you learn more about Afghanistan. Those selections were compiled and edited by the BICP staff to form this Student Text. The readings may not always appear to belong together even though they deal with the same culture area. By using the questions included in this unit, you should be able to gain from the materials the answers you are seeking. Remember that five of the question sets deal specifically with health matters. Few if any of the readings in this text are specifically about health, but most of them include health-related information. You and others in your group who are analyzing Afghanistan should view this text as a resource. Because you are not able to visit the culture and do field research, you must rely on the impressions and reports of others. Your analysis is in the form of book research. There are exceptions to this. In some cases you will see illustrations, or participate in activities, that should help you get a "feel" for the culture. This is another way to investigate when you cannot be "in the field". Bear in mind that this text--this resource--is only one resource. You can and should use other resources as you conduct your analysis of culture in Afghanistan. Good luck.

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Additional Materials from Unit II Student Text, Part One:

Buzkashi: The Goat-Grabbing Game

HANDOUTS FOR THE STUDY OF AQ KUPRUK

You will need certain materials in addition to those which have been included in this Student Text and in Unit II Student Text, Part One. Your instructor will supply you with these materials. Note that the simulation, "Bazaar," cannot be conducted without the supplies listed under that title below.

Four masters for transparencies:

- Contours
- Drainage
- Roads and Trails
- Descriptions

Bazaar: A Day at the Aq Kupruk Bazaar (materials for simulation):

- Photo: The Aq Kupruk Bazaar (one)
- Nomad Merchandise Cards (one sheet)
- Farmer Merchandise Cards (one sheet)
- Shopkeeper Merchandise Cards (one sheet)
- Need Sheets: Barter (one each for one third of the class)
- Need Sheets: Monetization (one each for one third of the class)
- Money Sheets (two)

Four Color Photographs:

- Lesson 1, Photo 1
- Lesson 15, Photo 1
- Lesson 15, Photo 2
- Lessons 18-37, Photo 1

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International Film Foundation, Inc. 475 Fifth Avenue, Suite 916, New York, New York 10017, Telephone 212-685-4998. The Mountain Peoples of Central Asia Series: "Baking Unleavened Bread" (color, 8 min.); "Boy's Games" (color, 5 min.)' "Building a Bridge" (b/w, 10 min.); "Buzkashi" (color, 8 min.); "Baking Oven Bread" (b/w, 11 min.); "Grinding Wheat" (b/w, 7 min.); "Making Felt" (color, 9 min.); "Making Gun Powder" (b/w, 10 min.); "Men's Dance" (color, 11 min.); "Weaving Cloth" (color, 9 min.); "Casting Iron Plow-Shares" (b/w, 11 min.); "Pottery Making" (b/w, 15 min.); "Shearing Yaks" (b/w, 9 min.); "Threshing Wheat" (b/w, 9 min).

Music

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WHO ME? STEREOTYPE?

Before beginning the study of Aq Kupruk, make a list of at least two statements you believe to be true about each of the following:

1. Human life in small towns in Central Asia.
2. The beliefs and religious practices of Muslims.
3. Relationships between males and females in Afghanistan.
4. Relationships between parents and children in Afghanistan.
5. Relationships between small towns, large towns, and cities in Central Asia.
6. Relationships between farmers and shopkeepers in small towns in Afghanistan.
7. Relationships between nomads and townspeople in small towns in Afghanistan.
8. Relationships between human, animal, and plant life in Central Asia.
9. Relationships between mountains, rivers, valleys, and deserts.
10. Relationships between power and status in small towns.

It may be useful to combine into one list all your group's written statements about these ten ideas. A wall chart could be used. And additional statements could be added before the study begins.

During the study, your group should look for evidence to support the statements you have made about the ten ideas. Do this individually on your own list. Anyone can mark through an untrue statement on the wall chart. Those which remain after the study are either true or possibly true statements. The objective of the activity is to draw out the stereotype of cultures and places other than our own. We all have stereotypes and culture study is a way of getting them out in the open, testing them with several kinds of evidence from different sources. Truth and understanding are the goals. This Student Text provides one set of data through which our objectives may be approached. Through these data we may even see reflections of our own culture and ourselves.

WHAT DO YOU VALUE?

Stereotypes to a great extent represent an effort to simplify complex information. They are important not only because they may be true, partially true, or untrue, but also because they carry wit them values. The value attached to a stereotype then conditions our attitude and behavior.

Respond to the following words, indicating your positive or negative feelings. On a separate sheet of paper, write one value choice (+10, 0 or -10) for each of the 15 words. Discuss which stereotypical images are suggested by each word. Repeat the exercise at various points during the course of study.

Have your values been affected?

	Positive	Neutral	Negative
1. **Monogamy** (the practice of having one mate at one time)	+10	0	-10
2. **Polygyny** (the practice of having several wives at one time)	+10	0	-10
3. **Polyandry** (the practice of having several husbands at one time)	+10	0	-10
4. **Alcohol consumption** (the practice of drinking or using alcoholic substances in food preparation)	+10	0	-10
5. **Barter** (the practice of exchanging goods for goods)	+10	0	-10
6. **Pilgrimage** (the practice of going to a sacred place as a religious obligation)	+10	0	-10
7. **Paying taxes** locally (the practice of paying a portion of one's income to be used by a local government)	+10	0	-10
8. **Paying taxes** nationally (the practice of paying a portion of one's income to be used by a national government)	+10	0	-10
9. **Herding** (the practice of tending flocks or herds of animals)	+10	0	-10
10. **Nomadism** (the practice of regular cyclic migration in search of pasture)	+10	0	-10
11. **Farming** (the practice of cultivating crops and keeping domestic animals for food consumption)	+10	0	-10
12. **Patriarchy** (the practice of male-father dominance in social, economic and political life)	+10	0	-10
13. **Nuclear family organization** (the practice of maintaining the father-mother-children as primary social unit)	+10	0	-10
14. **Extended family** (the practice of maintaining a large family involving several generations as the primary social unit)	+10	0	-10
15. **Intermarriage** (the practice of marrying outside one's own racial, religious, or cultural group)	+10	0	-10

BAZAAR

AQ KUPRUK'S MARKETPLACE

The bazaar. The very word suggests mystery. Noisy crowded streets. Colorfully turbaned and robed shoppers. Noise. Music blaring from radios and hand-wound phonographs, many melodies competing for attention. A thousand different smells. And the blurred babble of brisk, sharp trading.

Dusty stalls, each raised above the street, tended by shopkeepers sitting cross-legged amidst their fly-specked produce. Here and there a sleepy adolescent haphazardly tending the family shop.

Streets abandoned in the blistering heat. Not really streets but earthen pathways trampled year after year by hurried shoppers, sprinkled with water each morning to keep down the dust. Busy in the cool times, like early morning or autumn; almost abandoned in the hot times, afternoon and summer.

A skinny dog forages for scraps of food dropped by passing shoppers. The musical score of an Indian movie emerges from a darkened doorway. Scratchy, it is from a record that has been played many times.

Whatever the appearance or the tempo of activity on a given day, the bazaar is at the vital core of village life. Here, people gather. There are teahouses and inns. Men sit and smoke. Mosques are nearby and there are prayer centers and *ziarat* to remind one of God and of particularly great men.

Everything from cereal grains, dried fruits and nuts, canned foods, fresh fruits and vegetables, meats, and tobacco can be bought or bartered. Used clothing and spare automobile parts are displayed and sold.

The bazaar at Aq Kupruk is also a small manufacturing center. While the butcher and the baker provide immediately consumable items, the dyers of wool and cotton cloth are busy. So are the leatherworkers. Cobblers make shoes. Harnesses and fancy bridles are in demand. Tailors sew by hand and sit amidst their cuttings, thimble and needle and thread in hand.

Blacksmiths forge harness fittings, farming tools and household implements. They also cast and decorate serving trays with intricate geometric patterns.

All the shopkeepers and craftsmen are males. So are all the customers. But then this is Aq Kupruk. This is a masculine culture, a man's world.

Pushtun nomad selling goats in the Aq Kupruk bazaar.

TRANSACTIONS

Cash and carry is the rule, though barter was popular and perhaps necessary as recently as 1959. Then, hilltop farmers brought grain and vegetables to trade. They returned home with a kerosene lantern and fuel, tea, cloth, and sugar and salt.

Aq Kupruk residents could barter with nomads for dairy products as well as trinkets—perhaps an assortment of grains, melons, and eggs exchanged for glass beads, a knife, and a mirror.

The days of barter have passed. The Aq Kupruk bazaar transactions have been monetized. During the 1960s money became the mode. No longer do shopkeepers *barter* goods. They *sell*. Products and merchandise are bought for cash and they are resold for cash.

MONEY

The *afghani* is the unit of currency throughout Afghanistan. At the official exchange rate about seventy-five *afghanis* can be traded for one United States dollar (U.S. $1.00 = 75 *afghanis*). There are also unofficial exchange rates and these vary widely depending upon the current assessment of the worth of the *afghani* and of the dollar.

Aq Kupruk shopkeepers tuck away money in their personal clothing and in the shops, rarely in banks. Occasionally one will serve as a money lender but the people seldom require such services. Money is to be saved.

An American archeologist who borrowed *afghanis* from shopkeepers in the bazaar found the interest rate to be under 50 per cent. Not high at all compared to rates charged by some nomads. But high indeed, if compared to the rates charged in highly industrialized areas where money can be borrowed at 5 to 20 per cent. What do the people of Aq Kupruk do with the money they save? Buy land of course. Land is wealth and so are herds.

An Aq Kupruk butcher cuts meat to be weighed and sold.

A *Tajik* barber and customer in the Aq Kupruk Bazaar.

GOODS

What can be bought in the Aq Kupruk bazaar? Cloth. A saddle. Plowtips. Battery powered radios. Turnips and onions, dried apricots and nuts. An assortment of soft and hard goods.

A young man preparing for his wedding can have new clothes tailored. There are the hats and turbans—white, black, and colored ones. Wool trousers left over from someone's tour of military duty can be bought. Or a scarf or piece of embroidery.

Crocks and jars, pots, pans, knives, belts, buckles. All these and more. The nomads sometimes bring surprises. Butter, camel hair cloth, silver, jewelry, and a former Russian gasoline can that can be redesigned into a pail.

STRUCTURES

Shops in the Aq Kupruk bazaar have only one level. It is raised slightly above the ground. The majority of shopkeepers live in town but away from the bazaar. In contrast, multilevel buildings are common in the bazaars of larger towns where owners frequently live above the store.

Instead of the vertical structures with stairways in the cities and large towns, the architectural pattern of the Aq Kupruk bazaar is horizontal. In fact, all the town's buildings have a stronger horizontal than vertical design. It is a one-level town. The ground is never more than a few feet away. Poles set vertically in the ground are connected with mud brick walls. Poles lay across these walls and are covered by layers of brush and mud which form the roof. All share the bazaar street, its dust and smoke, and the customers it brings.

ORGANIZATIONS

Neither general associations nor specialist organizations exist among Aq Kupruk shopkeepers. They all share Islam and they all own land. Apparently they neither need nor favor the organizations, craft and trade guilds, which are common in more industrialized areas and exist even in neighboring Sholgara. The lack of organizations among Aq Kupruk shopkeepers may reflect the lack of cooperation which is present in many peasant societies.

The bazaar is not without leadership, however, for there is an informal head, the *kalantar-i-bazaar*. He presides over the infrequent meetings of the small group of merchants who employ a night watchman, the *chowkidar*. He watches for robbers while walking rounds through the bazaar. He is paid by contributions from all of the shopkeepers. His duties, however, are determined by only a small group of merchants led by the *kalantar*. The night watchman in 1966 was a farmer, the father of several sons who took turns patrolling the streets.

SEASONAL ACTIVITY

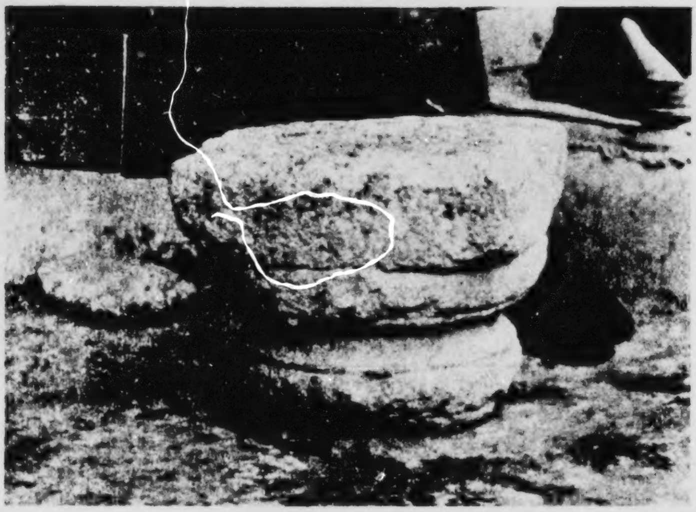
October and November are the peak months for bazaar activity. They fall between the major harvest season and the beginning of winter. Snow comes early to Central Asia and the winters are long. During the cold months bazaar activities continue but only about half of the shops remain open. In spring, as would be expected, full activity returns, though the tending and harvesting of crops which follows involves more and more of the townspeople's time and energy. Even the shopkeepers have agricultural responsibilities as profit-conscious landowners.

In late summer and fall there is abundant produce. The annual supply of wheat must be dried and stored away for food through the year and seed for next year's crop. Fresh fruit is plentiful and some is dried for winter use. The corn harvest is at its peak in early fall and grapes and tomatoes, vegetables, and summer fattened fresh meat can be purchased at the Aq Kupruk bazaar. Fall is also the time to purchase clothing for the forthcoming winter, and yarn for the women to weave during the cold months. In winter there are turnips and dried onions, coats and shoes, saddle repair materials and a few canned goods for those who shop at the bazaar and prepare for the spring and summer which will follow.

The trend of Aq Kupruk's development today is not from village to town to city but from town back to village. Trade is once again primarily among townspeople and between them and the peasant farmers nearby. These farmers bring their produce-laden donkeys down from the surrounding hills to buy and sell and swap gossip in the bazaar. At the peak of the harvest season—and especially on Mondays and Thursdays which are designated as bazaar days—the market is still lively. Most days, however, business is conducted in leisurely fashion, often in teahouses over steaming cups of green or black tea, enjoying music from a hand-wound phonograph or transistor radio broadcast.

THE TEAHOUSE

The teahouse in every village, town, and city in Afghanistan is thought of as a major center, a hub of the universe. At least for males. Far more than a place to sip weak tea, and nibble the delicious flat bread, *nan*, baked in the nearby bazaar, it is the city hall, information center, transportation center, and social club. It is the place where deals are struck, contracts are broken and friendships



A Kushan column base used as a table in a teahouse at Aq Kupruk

are made—or undone. It is the hotel for visitors, where their arrival will be instantly noted, their departure discussed long after they have gone, and the purpose of their visit debated endlessly. It is sometimes an arena for politicians, from the local landowner anxious to expand his domain to the provincial candidate for Parliament.

Not more than 2 per cent of Aq Kupruk males can read. In the teahouse, men who are literate will read aloud whatever newspapers or magazines may be available. To some extent, then, the teahouse also serves as the local library. Similarly, it may also have one of the few radios in the village. It is a center for exchanging ideas, a place to sit long hours, cross-legged in front of a giant teapot, *samovar*, listening to the world outside Aq Kupruk. Reading and listening and discussing the topics of the day, men enlarge their horizons, readying themselves consciously or unconsciously for change.

To earn extra income this teacher works as a carpenter in the Aq Kupruk bazaar. A local boy who "made good" and returned to be a hometown teacher, he has several roles in Aq Kupruk.

CHANGE

Bazaar activity in Aq Kupruk has declined in recent years. One reason was the downgrading of Aq Kupruk from capital of a subprovince to the capital of a district between 1961 and 1963. Nearby Sholgara, previously called Buina Qara, became the capital of the Hukumat, a subprovince or *wolus wali.* Thus Aq Kupruk, one of thirteen villages in the nine thousand man area, lost claim to being the administrative center. And though few people left Aq Kupruk, the new center for administration, Sholgara, witnessed an immediate increase in economic activity. New shops opened and the Sholgara bazaar, once open only two days each week, began to open every day.

By 1966, Sholgara offered two hundred shops. A new bazaar area for fifteen hundred shops was under construction, including animal inns called *caravanserais.* The number of men in Sholgara increased from fifteen hundred in 1959 to three thousand in 1966. This is almost 10 per cent of the thirty-one thousand men in the subprovince. Among these men and their families are Uzbak, Sarhad Baluch, Mohmand, A Fridi, Pushtun.

Contrasting with Aq Kupruk, the streets of Sholgara are lined with motor vehicles and busy with shoppers going to and from the bazaar. On the edge of town there is a large building for grain storage. It offers protection from famine, food for those in military service, and reduced prices for the many employees of the government. Though Sholgara thrives, nearby Aq Kupruk is far from dead. Its bazaar continues to serve the local people.

A cloth merchant. He is *Tajik,* both a shopkeeper and farmer, and he serves as a part-time religious leader, *mullah,* in Aq Kupruk.

The bazaar is more than a place. It is an institution. An economic, social, and religious center, the bazaar is at the heart of Aq Kupruk.

The Aq Kupruk bazaar, looking north.

Aerial photograph of Aq Kupruk region. The town of Aq Kupruk is in the upper half of the photograph, right of center. The land is high, dry, and eroded.

AGRICULTURE AT AQ KUPRUK

The Land

From a jet airplane thousands of feet above, the town of Aq Kupruk appears as a small oval, white rectangles set jewel-like in a black background. The surrounding terrain looks and is harsh. Watercourses, twisting light-colored bands, meander to meet the town then pass it by.

The view from the ground is quite different. The Balkh River is not so large as the valley walls suggest it might once have been. The town dominates this ground level view. Trails and roads come together at Aq Kupruk. The dry hillsides almost fade from view. Here are soil enough and water enough to make gardening possible. This is an oasis.

Gardens grow in the valley flood-plain soil. Wheat ripens on the surrounding hills where sheep and goats and cattle graze in open pasture. Agriculture is the major Aq Kupruk activity. Just about every man and boy are farmers, were farmers, or will become farmers. Farming is the Aq Kupruk way of life.

Five acres is the average size landholding in Aq Kupruk. Of the fifteen hundred males in the town, 70 per cent own land. The remaining 30 per cent work as tenant farmers paying rent to their respective landowners according to the so-called "fiver" system.

A man who farms his own land gets to keep or sell his produce and keep the profits after paying for seed and the wages of helpers. Tenant farmers work under different rules. Under the "fiver" system, proceeds from the sale of crops are divided into five units. Whether landowner or tenant, the provider of the seed gets one-fifth of the income. Whoever provided the water receives a fifth of the earnings. Other fifths go to whoever provided the human and animal labor. The landowner earns a fifth. Thus, if a tenant provides only his labor his earnings are one-fifth of the crop. He can earn as much as four-fifths by providing seed, water, animals, and his labor. Tenants vary in how much investment they can make and so do landowners. Usually a tenant's share is three- or four-fifths of the total harvest, an indication that this valley is relatively prosperous. There are other areas in the world where a tenant could work even harder and earn a great deal less.

Land in this area is not measured by the acre but by the *jerib*. One *jerib* is about half an acre. The average landholding among Aq Kupruk males is about ten *jerib*, five acres, or 217,800 square feet of earth surface.

Not all of this land is under cultivation. Given the absence of mechanized farming in Aq Kupruk, four to five acres is near the maximum area that one man can farm. Fields occasionally are unused for a year, left fallow to permit the land to recover its fertility. Open grazing is customary in the area surrounding the town. These pastures are not usually included when one is discussing individual land ownership. The hills belong to the town. Fields belong to individuals and to families.

Crops are of two types. Some are grown on hillsides where they are dependent on rainfall and melting snow to provide moisture. Other crops are systematically irrigated using water diverted from the river. Thus, the two types of crops reflect two types of terrain: those almost flat lands near the river and the sloped hillside lands high above the valley and its town.

Both irrigated valley and mountainside crops, *abi* and *lalmi*, grow in the fine-grained soils, called loess, which are still being deposited by the winds and waters of Central Asia.

Loess soil is typical of a mid-continental region where strong winds pick up soil particles in one place and deposit them in another. Similar conditions prevail in the center of North America at about the same latitudes and the thick loess soils of northern China are also well known.

The wind carried, *aeolian*, loess soil is mixed with *alluvial* soil washed into the valleys from their slopes and from their headwaters high in the Hindu Kush.

This is a region which has severe dust storms and floods. There is little vegetation to hold down the soil to prevent it from blowing or washing. The best hillside grass is thin even in the spring. As in other dry lands, such calamities of nature have come to be expected by the peasants who live there.

Storm clouds gather over Salang Pass in central Afghanistan. The town of Aq Kupruk is located in the foothills of the Hindu Kush Mountains. It depends on precipitation at the high elevations—snow in the winter, rain in the summer—to fill the rivers and streams that bring life to the dry plains.

Dust storms sometimes last for several days. During these times the sky is darkened and the sun is not visible. The dust creeps into homes. It saturates clothing and coats the skin. One's teeth feel gritty. And then it is gone.

For most of the year the air above Aq Kupruk is clear. The sun almost always shines brightly. And in the long run, the windstorms and the dust are an advantage. Every year there is some new soil. The air currents and river waters benefit Aq Kupruk. They enable continuous human settlement of this oasis in a harsh land.

While the occurrence of a dust storm is uncertain, they tend to occur along with spring and summer winds. In summertime such storms can parch tender young crops and spoil a harvest.

Yearly spring thaws or downpours may arrive suddenly bringing torrents of water raging down the riverbeds and gullies above Aq Kupruk. On the other hand, rain often doesn't arrive on time or it rains too little.

It may not snow much during the winter and thus leave even the soils at high elevations in such a dry condition that they cannot support the grasses needed by the herds of sheep and goats and cattle. If the animals don't get enough to eat then some must be slaughtered. Those underfed animals who can survive produce less manure. The fields the following year will have less fertility and the people of Aq Kupruk will also miss the use of dry dung for fuel.

Agriculture depends upon weather and upon soil. The soil itself must be more than mineral deposits and particles of rock. Without humus a soil is dead. Fertile soil is actually alive for humus provides the decaying matter which bacteria eat and convert into soil nutrients. That decaying matter also holds water for later use by crops. The Central Asian soils which surround Aq Kupruk typically have little humus. The decaying roots of grass provide some. Here and there there is a deciduous tree or bush which produces leaves to fall and make humus.

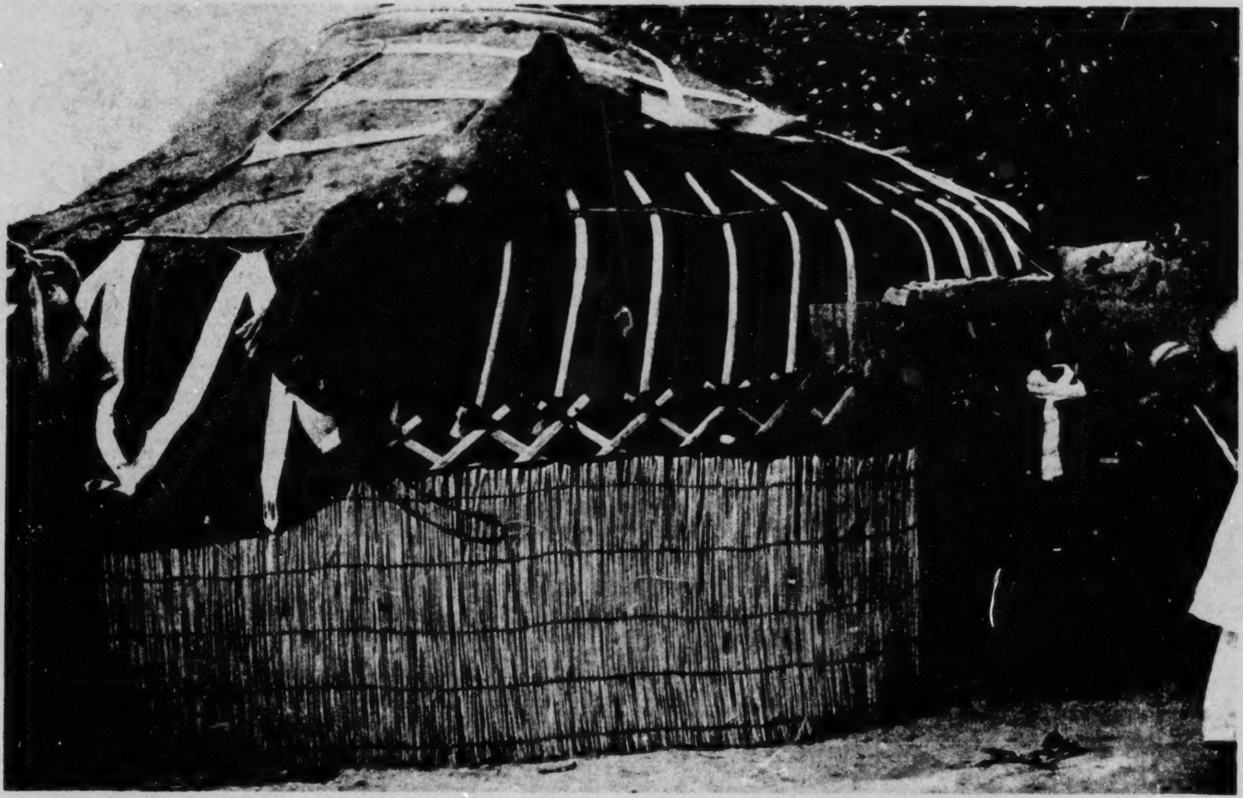
Animals are especially valuable in such a dry land for they convert grass, small brush, and grains into humus and nitrogen-rich manure as well as into meat, milk, wool, and hides. Aq Kupruk agriculture depends upon animals to quite a degree. Without them the soil would produce less grain, fewer vegetables, and less fruit. And the homes of Aq Kupruk would be cold in the winter were it not for the supply of dried dung, manure exposed to sun and air, to use as fuel.

Farming

Aq Kupruk farming techniques have changed little over the centuries. A wooden plowhead, pointed, and covered with iron is pulled by oxen to loosen the earth. Men and boys follow behind with hand tools breaking the water-clotted and sun-baked soils into smaller pieces. Seeds are scattered by hand. Ripened grain is cut with sickles by teams of harvesters. Then it is trodden by animals to separate the grains from the sheaths and stalks on which they have grown. Tossed into the air, the heavier grains fall to the cloth-covered ground leaving chaff in the air to blow away.

While reaping, threshing, and winnowing summer wheat, whole families follow the harvest, leaving Aq Kupruk to spend often as much as a month on their mountainside farms. They live, during these periods, in *khergah*, the circular tents of their *Uzbak* and *Tajik* nomadic pasts. These summer shelters are constructed of sticks and straw which are lashed together with cord and covered with felt cloth or skins. The special advantages of the *khergah* or *yurt* are its portability and adaptability. Lined with felt or rugs, it is a warm temporary shelter during the field harvests. Erected inside a family compound in Aq Kupruk, it is a cool summer retreat. Although there are many of *Uzbak* and *Tajik* ethnic origin, no residents of Aq Kupruk are nomads now, but the *khergah*, common throughout Central Asia, and summer harvests are reminders that these people have not always been agricultural villagers.

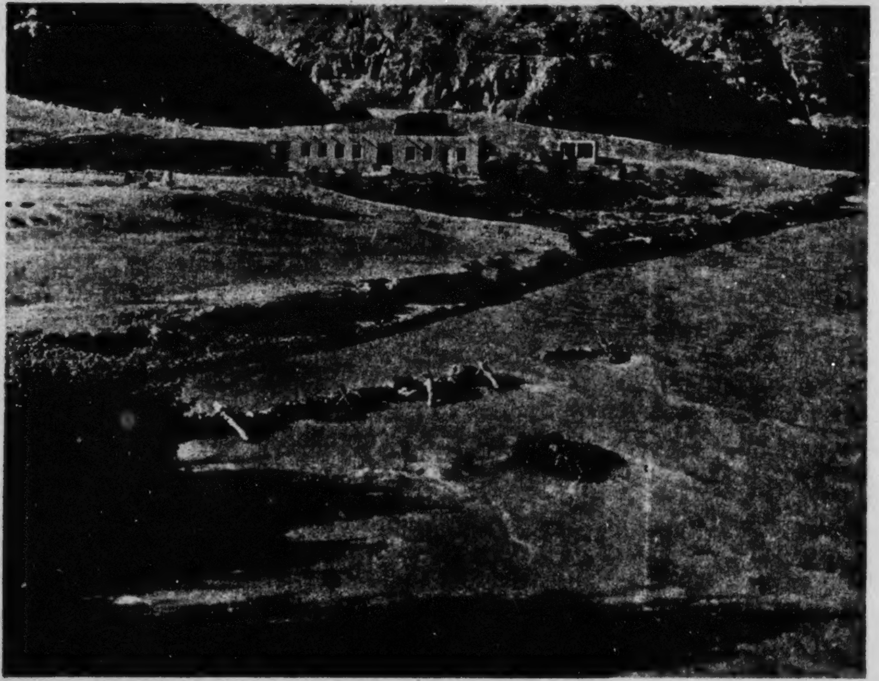
The involvement of women in the wheat harvests is an interesting feature of women's work in Aq Kupruk. It may also link them to their nomadic past. In the town, their responsibility consists mainly of cooking and even in this area husbands consider themselves superior. Men prepare the meals for guests. But women are permitted to take a more active role during the summer wheat harvest. Then whole families go into the hill country, providing women rare opportunity to travel and be directly involved in an important endeavor. They appear in the open and without veils, for strangers are unlikely to be around at these times and on the hot hillsides.



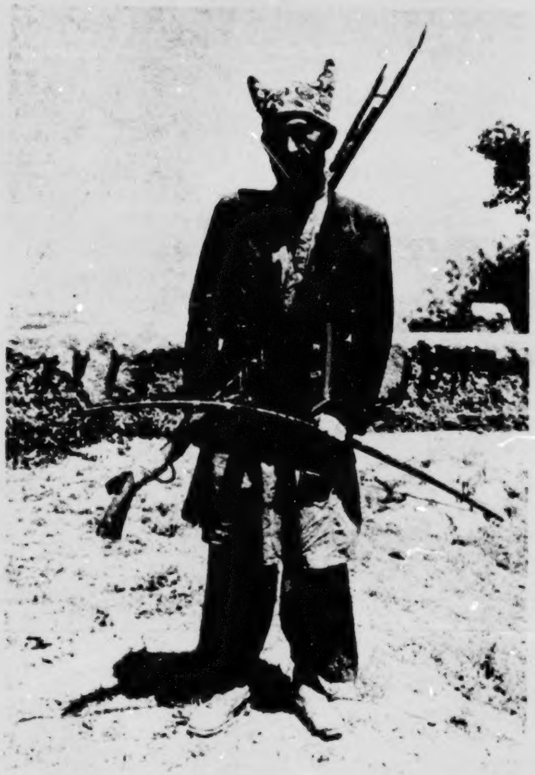
This *khergah* is home for an Aq Kupruk family during the summer wheat harvest.

Crops

Wheat, corn, coriander, and cuminseed are the principal crops of Aq Kupruk. Cotton has been grown in the past. Berries, fruits, and nuts are also available. Carrots, eggplants, onions, rice, tomatoes, and turnips are common in the gardens.



The Balkh River flows through Aq Kupruk providing water for the canal that runs behind the retaining wall, irrigating gardens and turning a millwheel. The Aq Kupruk school is in the foreground.



An *Uzbak* hunter with matchlock rifle, bow, and animal mask hat which can be lowered to cover the entire face.

Wheat is grown on hillside fields and sometimes a few wind-blown seeds even take root on the mud rooftops of buildings. After all, isn't it practical to exploit the soggy mud of a rooftop, cultivating a plant which will produce roots to strengthen the roof mud and bind it together? And why not provide a little greenery on the rooftop? If the wheat then has provided green color, some forage, and added strength to the roof, why then should it not be permitted to grow stalks and produce heads of grain, if the rains come at the right time and the goats can be kept away? If it all works out, there's a little extra wheat in the summer harvest.

Most wheat is grown away from town at a higher altitude in the hills. Here it goes through its annual cycle providing food for the townspeople and their livestock and some for the nomads who will be passing by.

Wheat, the mainstay of the Aq Kupruk agriculture and diet, has long been domesticated in Central Asia but corn has been imported. Like tomatoes, corn was brought from the Americas to Eurasia, to the delight of Aq Kupruk adults, children, and livestock. Corn is eaten too by the cliff-dwelling crows which are then killed and eaten.

Bread is the most important food at Aq Kupruk. Bread and vegetables and small quantities of lamb are the basic foods. Kid (young goat) and chickens provide both meat and dairy products. An ox is occasionally butchered and there is wild game in the hills.

Chuker partridges, doves, pigeons, and quail may be shot or trapped by hunters. The Balkh River provides fish. And in the mountains nearby, gazelle and ibex can be had if one is patient and a good shot.

Aq Kupruk people consume animal and plant proteins and carbohydrates. Their diet has almost no sugar. They eat meat, vegetables, fruits, nuts, and butter and yogurt. Being Muslims, they eat no pork. Their food supply is almost totally dependent on their own agricultural efforts. And food cultivation, gathering, and processing provides almost total employment for the vast majority of townspeople. Fresh or dried, food is plentiful among the people of Aq Kupruk. The availability of some foods, however, is seasonal and unpredictable.

Farming, herding, and hunting are day-to-day responsibilities of Aq Kupruk males. From an early age their lives are dominated by these tasks which make human life possible in a rugged, harsh environment. Religion and families are important. But the activities central to survival are primary in Aq Kupruk.

Aq Kupruk and Beyond

Rice, sugar, raisins, and fresh grapes are imported, the latter from the Afghanistan towns, like Sangcharak to the west and Mazar-i-Sharif to the north. Rice and sugar, major commodities for trade, still come predominantly from outside the country. Thus commerce makes one conscious of the nearness of the Asian and Mediterranean agricultures to which Aq Kupruk is linked by tradition and even modern food distribution patterns. But the patterns are changing as economic development schemes spread across Afghanistan. Both rice and sugar cane, as well as corn, sugar beets, and cotton, are being grown increasingly on irrigated land closer to the Oxus and Kunduz Rivers. With the expansion of irrigation facilities around Aq Kupruk, this area, too, may become more productive.

Other agricultural products link the people of Aq Kupruk with trade beyond their immediate region, even beyond Afghanistan's political boundaries. Wool is shorn from the goats and sheep which forage the hills around Aq Kupruk. It is then washed, corded, and spun into yarn for the making of clothing and rugs. The rugs of Central Asia are famous and expensive because of the labor-intensive processes used in their manufacture. Aq Kupruk wool not only clothes its inhabitants, it also brings wealth to the townspeople when it can be sold as a cash export or traded for whatever is available that the wool sellers want or need.

Sheep and goats graze the foothills of northern Afghanistan. Some years, most recently in 1971, nomads must bring flocks to the lowland plains in early summer because alpine pastures become too dry. Aq Kupruk families own their own herds and also trade with nomad herdsmen.

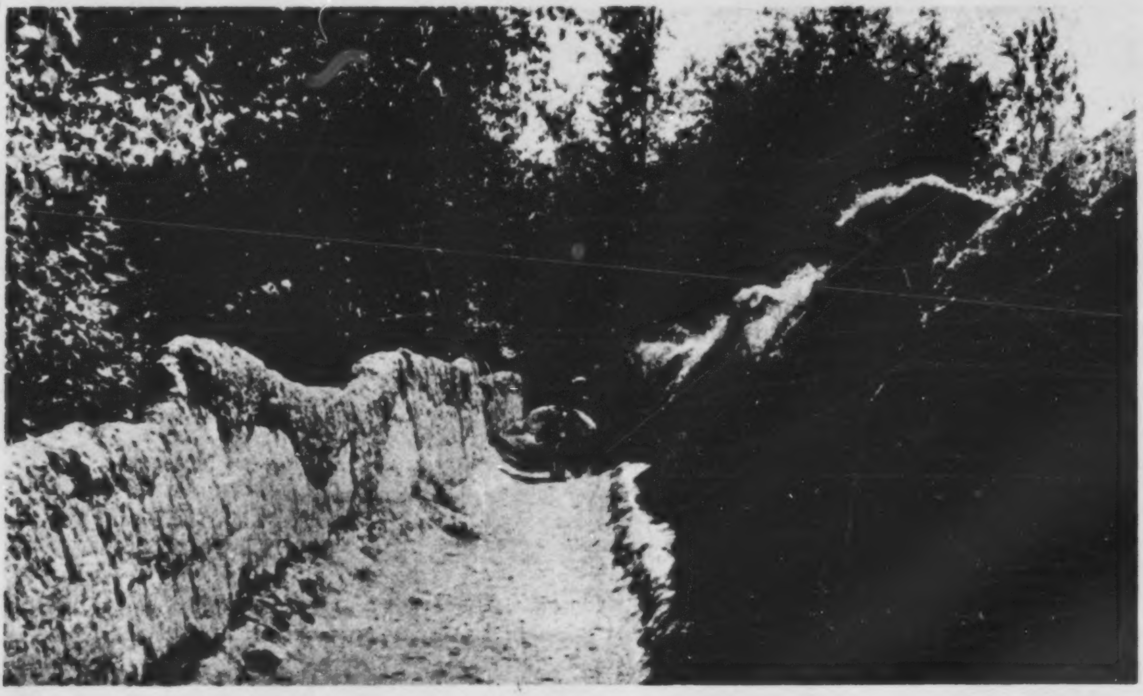
Even dairy products may have far-reaching commercial significance, although most of the production is for local use. Milk, from both goats and cows, is converted into yogurt, the *mast* which is so popular from Central Asia to the Mediterranean, dried curds called *kruti*, and clarified butter, *roghan* or *ghee*, well known in Asia to the east and south of Aq Kupruk.

Camels, donkeys, and horses and herds of sheep, goats, and cattle are the measure of a man's wealth. Besides their importance as items for trade and for conversion to food, they provide transportation and animal labor for the people of Aq Kupruk. They haul *khergah* to the mountainside fields. Baskets of winnowed wheat are transported back to the compounds in town. Horses and donkeys are used to pull plows. Horses are highly personal possessions used by their male owners as work animals. Owning horses also can confer prestige on their owners when they are raced or used in the game of "goat-grabbing," *buzkashi.*

* * * * *

As in many parts of the world where soil and climate seem to work against human survival, the work of producing food and fiber is a major part of life at Aq Kupruk, at the "white bridge" over the Balkh River in Afghanistan north of the Hindu Kush Mountains.

The walled gardens of Aq Kupruk are separated by paths connecting the various sections of the town.



FACES
OF
AQ KUPRUK

Photo 1

Photo 2

31

Photo 3

32

Photo 4

Photo 5

Photo 6

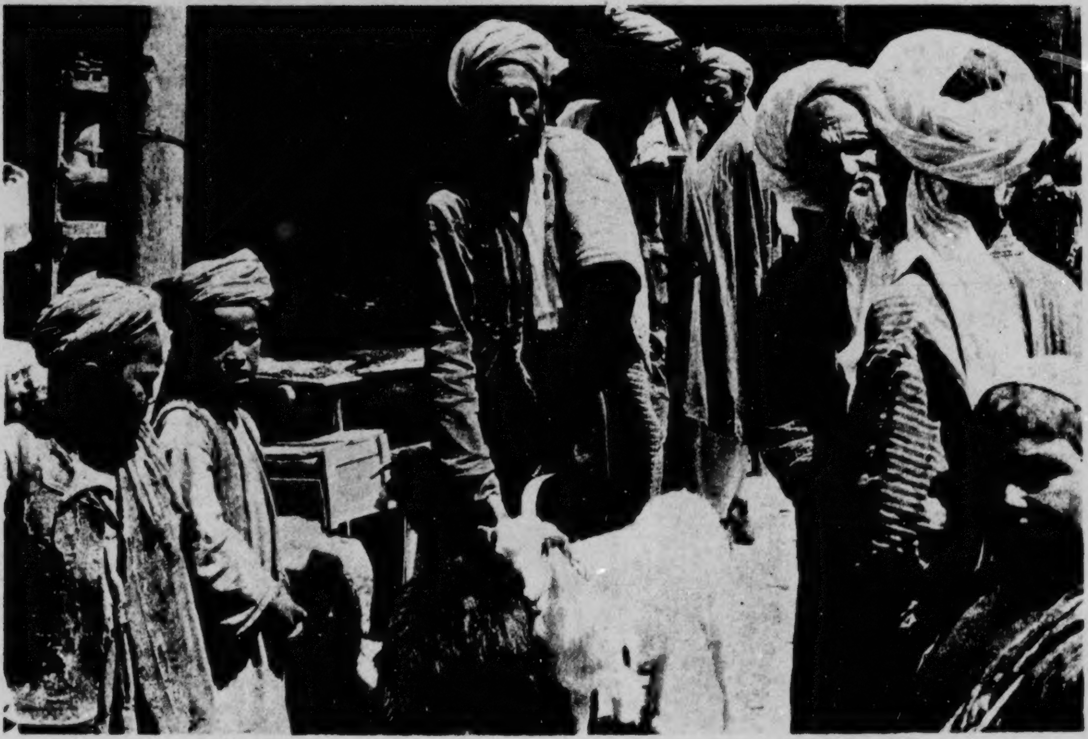


Photo 7

- Notes -

All photographs in this document are the work of Dr. Louis Dupree, of the American Universities Field Staff. They were made during his studies in Aq Kupruk 1959, 1962, 1965, and 1972.

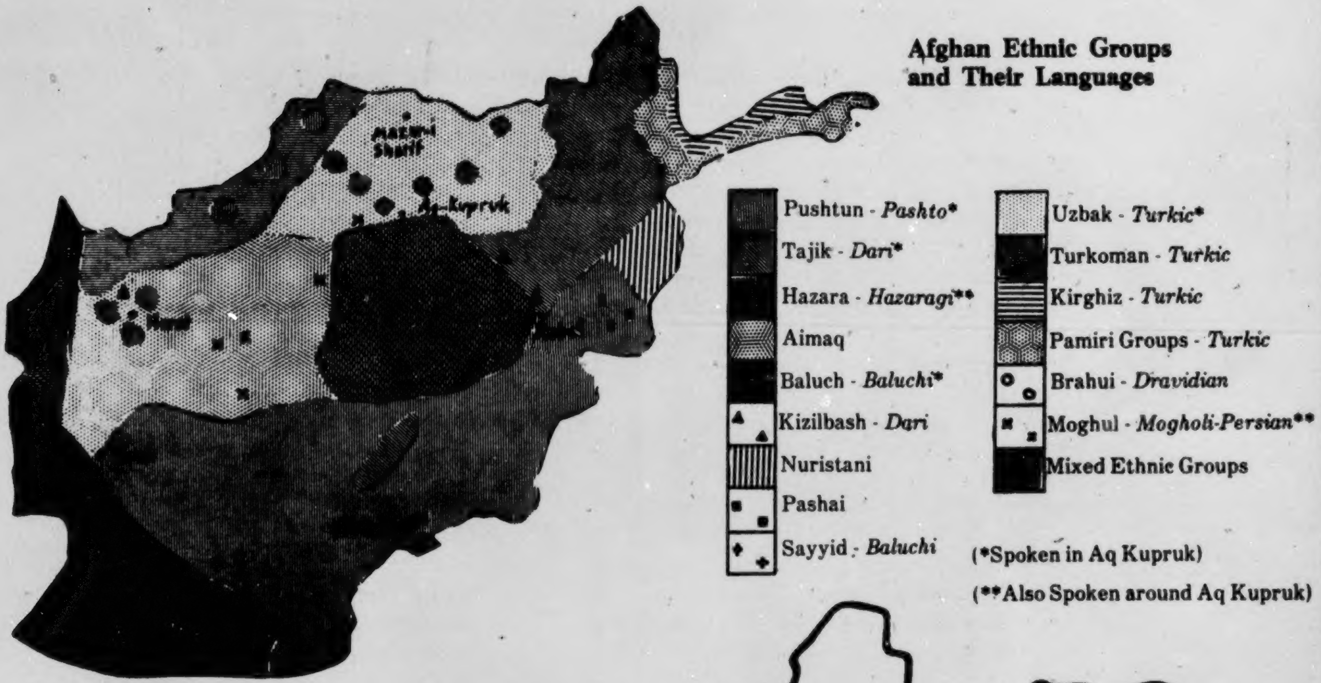
Students interested in viewing more photographs of the people of Afghanistan should consult G.F. Debets, Louis Dupree, Eugene V. Prostov, and Henry Field, *Physical Anthropology of Afghanistan: I-II*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Peabody Museum/ Translation Series of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 1970, $10.00 paperback.

- Key -

The photographs on the previous pages are of subjects as follows:

Cover	Aq Kupruk Wrestlers
Photo 1	A Khoja Mullah and Farmer
Photo 2	A Safi Pushtun
Photo 3	A Sayyid Shopkeeper
Photo 4	An Uzbak Farmer
Photo 5	A Tajik Farmer
Photo 6	Son of a Tajik Father and Uzbak Mother
Photo 7	Pushtun Nomads Selling Goats in Aq Kupruk Bazaar

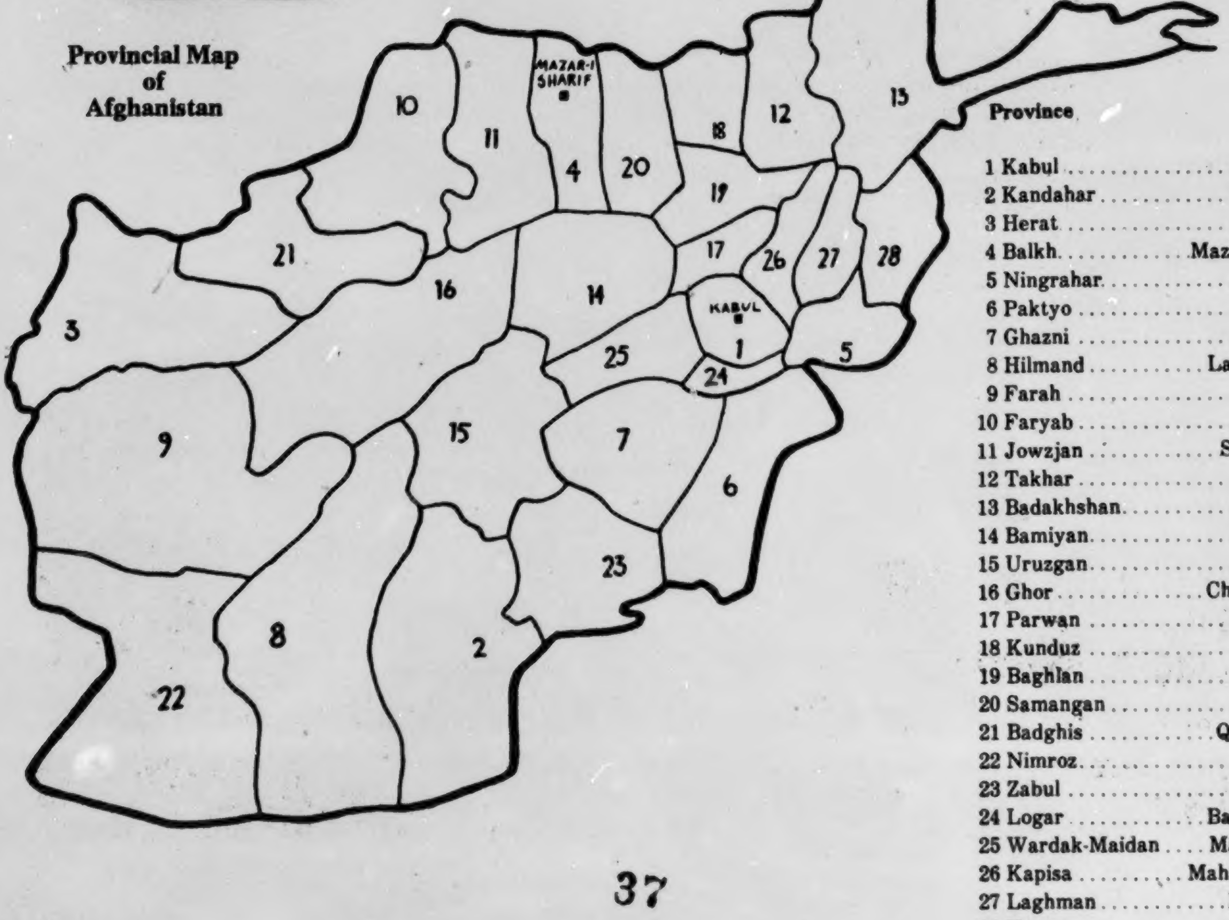
Afghan Ethnic Groups and Their Languages


Mazar-i Sharif
Aq Kupruk
Pushtun - Pashto*
Tajik - Dari*
Hazara - Hazaragi**
Aimaq
Baluch - Baluchi*
Kizilbash - Dari
Nuristani
Pashai
Sayyid - Baluchi
Uzbak - Turkic*
Turkoman - Turkic
Kirghiz - Turkic
Pamiri Groups - Turkic
Brahui - Dravidian
Moghul - Mogholi-Persian**
Mixed Ethnic Groups

(*Spoken in Aq Kupruk)

(**Also Spoken around Aq Kupruk)

Provincial Map of Afghanistan


MAZAR-I SHARIF
KABUL
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Province	Capital
1 Kabul	Kabul
2 Kandahar	Kandahar
3 Herat	Herat
4 Balkh	Mazar-i-Sharif
5 Ningrahar	Jalalabad
6 Paktyo	Gardez
7 Ghazni	Ghazni
8 Hilmand	Lashkar Gah
9 Farah	Farah
10 Faryab	Maimana
11 Jowzjan	Shibarghan
12 Takhar	Taliqan
13 Badakhshan	Faizabad
14 Bamiyan	Bamiyan
15 Uruzgan	Uruzgan
16 Ghor	Chakhcharan
17 Parwan	Charikar
18 Kunduz	Kunduz
19 Baghlan	Baghlan
20 Samangan	Aibak
21 Badghis	Qala-yi-Naw
22 Nimroz	Zaranj
23 Zabul	Kalat
24 Logar	Baraki-Baraq
25 Wardak-Maidan	Maidanshahr
26 Kapisa	Mahmud-i-Raqi
27 Laghman	Mehtarlam
28 Kunar	Asadabad

POWER AND STATUS IN AQ KUPRUK IN AFGHANISTAN

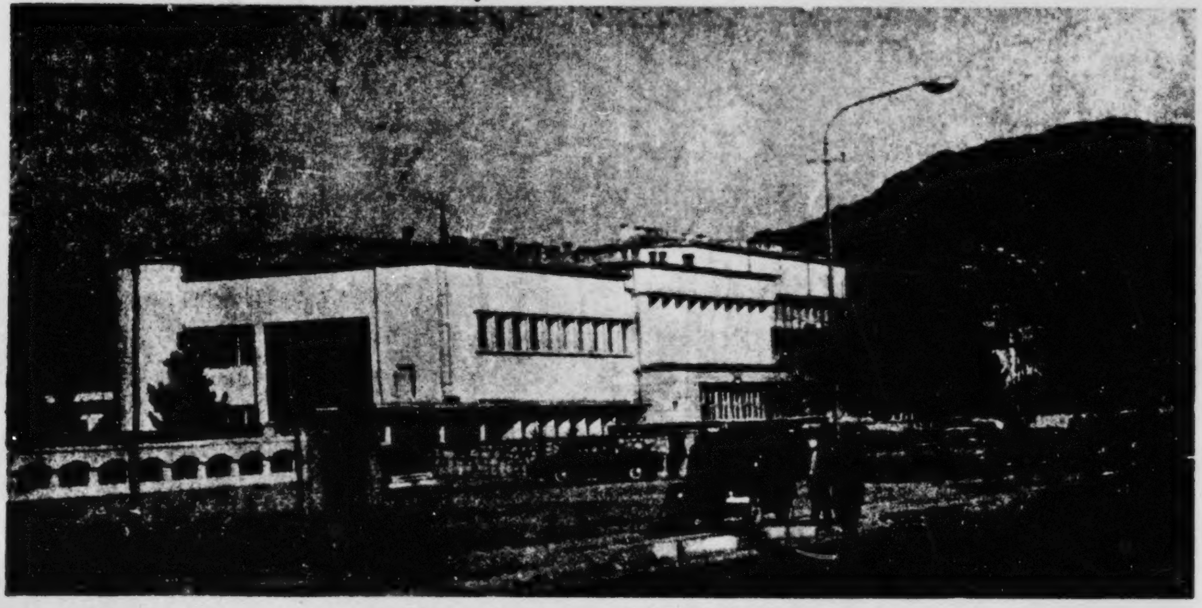
Both formal and informal power structures influence the people of Aq Kupruk. In such a small and remote town, person-to-person and family-to-family relationships are of great importance. Even where every family head owns land and all are Muslim, there are still differences of status and power among individuals and groups. Ethnic background is significant among the people of Aq Kupruk. So are the distinctions between newcomers, those whose families have moved to Aq Kupruk in this century, and those whose families were already inhabitants of the town. Important as the *informal power structures* are, they are difficult to describe because they are usually subtle if not invisible. And while the informal power structure is known to all who live in a town, it may not be talked about openly. The insiders know. The outsiders try to figure it out.

Governmental levels, of course, represent the much easier to describe *formal power structures.* These include the national government of Afghanistan traditionally led by a king.

THE GOVERNMENT OF AFGHANISTAN

Aq Kupruk is a small town located north of the Hindu Kush Mountains near Afghanistan's border with Russia, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Afghanistan itself is in a transitional area on the Asian continent between the "Middle East" and "South and Central Asia."

The national government of Afghanistan is centered in the capital city, Kabul. Traditionally ruled by kings, Afghanistan has been a constitutional monarchy since 1930. King Mohammad Zahir Shah assumed the throne in 1933 and ruled together with a Parliament consisting of an Upper and Lower House. A new Constitution approved in 1964 replaced that of 1930 and allowed for more popular participation in government. The period after 1964 is often referred to in Afghanistan as "the new democracy."



Parliament buildings in Kabul, Afghanistan.

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At 2:30 A.M., July 17, 1973, the royal government of Afghanistan was overthrown by a military coup. It was led by Sardar Mohammad Daoud Khan, first cousin and brother-in-law of the King and a former Prime Minister of the country (1953-1963). Daoud declared Afghanistan a Republic with himself as President and Prime Minister. King Zahir formally abdicated the throne from exile in Italy.

The policies of the new Republic of Afghanistan are not yet clear. There is every indication, however, that structural changes will be minor.

The Parliament, *Shura*, has an appointed and elected upper house, *Meshrano Jirgah*. Representatives are elected to the lower house, *Wolesi Jirgah*. A Prime Minister/President serves as the national executive.

There are a Supreme Court and Cabinet Ministries for Tribal Affairs, Communications, Public Health, Planning, Commerce, Information and Culture, Education, Public Works, Agriculture, Justice, Finance, Interior Affairs and National Defense. Several Cabinet members are usually in the role of "Ministers without Portfolio." They are free to represent all other interests of the nation or particular ones as needs and troubles arise. Floods and famines, for example, can receive their immediate attention. And they can bring up subjects which have been overlooked by other Ministers with specific responsibilities.

The national capital is located south and east of Aq Kupruk, south of the Hindu Kush Mountains at Kabul. Here live the government officials and most of the literate people in the nation. Kabul is the home also of the former royal family.

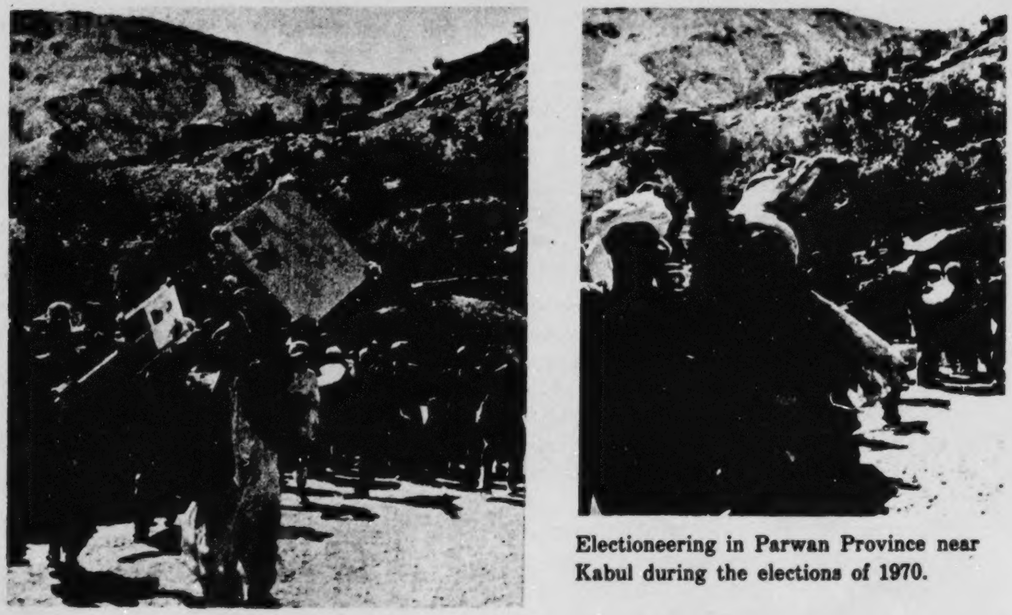
Governmental representatives have considerable influence upon Afghanistan's towns and villages. They can tax, arrange to have roads paved, bridges built, and provide funds for schools. Yet by no means is the national government the major source of power in the day-to-day lives of Aq Kupruk farmers and shopkeepers. Nor are the nomads accompanied by government agents on a regular basis. The government is in Kabul. It can influence but does not appear to control the daily lives of people in Aq Kupruk.

"'Government' for the people of Aq Kupruk primarily means law and order in the form of the police, tax collections, and conscription officers—and the town has benefited little from any one of these three," according to anthropologist Louis Dupree, writing in 1966. "In fact, most contacts with government officials have been unpleasant, although under the enlightened policies of the new government, conditions have improved tremendously. A recent incident, however, will illustrate the incongruities of the situation:

> " The Afghan government, greatly concerned over the cholera epidemic which swept northern Afghanistan in the summer of 1965, dispatched health teams to combat the spread of this killer. The teams blocked roads and established checkpoints all along the main roads leading north and south. All travelers had to have proof of immunization against cholera with them or be vaccinated on the spot. The motives behind this were pure and noble, but in practice the effort probably brought more misery than relief. Several people died of cholera in Aq Kupruk before an Afghan medical man arrived by motorcycle (how he made it over the road from Pul-i-Barak still mystifies me), laden with serum (but no ice) and one syringe and needle. For three days he wandered through the bazaar shooting people as he came to them, one after

the other, until he had emptied the syringe. Then he would refill—without even cleaning the needle in boiled water, as one shopkeeper observed—and begin to vaccinate again. In a few days, over a hundred people thus treated came down with high fevers and vomiting, but, luckily, no one died. Those who had not been shot considered themselves fortunate, and I considered myself extremely lucky that none of my archaeological workmen had bothered to be vaccinated."

American Universities Field Staff Associate Dupree concluded that "Aq Kupruk, because of its intermediate position between *true town* and *true village*, illustrates many of the changes occurring today outside Kabul, the national capital. I like to say that two Afghanistans exist: Kabul and the rest of the country. For while Kabul is rapidly becoming a modern city, the rest of Afghanistan lags far behind." "The economy of Aq Kupruk," he points out, "can be described as a Neolithic farming self-sufficiency in an Iron Age technology." Having been changed from a higher to a lower status as a governmental administrative center, Aq Kupruk is a reverse of the more typical expanding population center growing in population, power, and status. Aq Kupruk is no longer the District Administrative Center. According to Louis Dupree, "the dominant commercial bazaar economy has slowly been reverting to an almost exclusively agricultural economy. The 'new democracy' in Afghanistan, however, and the new breed of administrators (such as the energetic Wali Sahib of Balkh Province and the Alakadur of Kishindi) have helped arrest the process of de-urbanization. Aq Kupruk may grow again in importance as a commercial center." Probably the new trading center at "Sholgara will continue to grow faster and remain the foremost center in the region" around Aq Kupruk. This is "mainly because of the new motorable road running north and south." Whereas today the Sholgara bazaar has many full-time specialists, only a few have remained in Aq Kupruk.



Electioneering in Parwan Province near Kabul during the elections of 1970.

Men in Aq Kupruk work on irrigation canal carrying water from the Balkh River to gardens and a mill.

"After World War II, land began to lose its primary role as a traditional source of *power* in Aq Kupruk. In the past people had used their surplus cash to purchase more land. Now, because most *capable* farmers own land, their surplus cash is used to purchase additional commodity and luxury items (radios, watches, clothing, furniture, glassware, gas lanterns, flashlights, etc.). Liberals may point out that the system bleeds the poor farmer, but I find that this is difficult to believe in *all* cases. Many *sharecroppers* I have known over the past sixteen years in Afghanistan," Dr. Dupree writes, "are now *landowners*—that is, if they have proved to be good farmers."

Elections for the thirteenth Parliament, in 1970, underscored the existence of two Afghanistans: Kabul and the rest of the country. Voting outside the capital province followed ethnic, kin-oriented lines. This is despite the fact that there has been much intermingling of ethnic groups, especially in northern Afghanistan. But the true power elite emerged from behind its "mud curtain" in greater numbers. "The elections ended, the votes counted and checked, charges and countercharges made, the Prime Minister officially released the results over Radio Afghanistan." As viewed by Louis Dupree, writing in 1971, the "composition of the Lower House of the thirteenth Parliament remarkably resembles the eleventh, the last 'rubber-stamp' Parliament." The thirteenth Parliament continued the "do-nothing" pattern of its predecessor. Legislative inaction was a principal factor contributing to the coup which occurred July 17, 1973. The Lower House of Parliament, for example, had failed to muster a quorum eighty-two times between mid-March and July, forty in a row until July 2!

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF BALKH

MAZAR-I-SHARIF—SHOLGARA—AQ KUPRUK

The provincial capital of Balkh Province is Mazar-i-Sharif. The province is divided into Districts which are called *Alakadari.* Aq Kupruk is in the District of Kishindi, *Alakadari-i-Kishindi*, and was formerly the district's government center. Aq Kupruk was replaced as the governmental administrative center for Kishindi District by the town of Sholgara. This has led to an increase in the economic growth and status of Sholgara and corresponding decreases in Aq Kupruk. Along the unpaved road which connects the two towns, some families have moved to Sholgara. Its attractions include not only a governmental and trading center, but also Islamic religious institutions, a rapidly expanding bazaar, electricity, paved roads, medical facilities and, of course, the other features of an expanding urban center. The road is paved from Sholgara to Mazar-i-Sharif which offers a still larger bazaar, several Islamic institutions including the famous Blue Mosque, and governmental agencies. From here there is regular airplane and bus service to Kabul. Mazar-i-Sharif is "the city" of the region in which Aq Kupruk is located. Not only is it the center of national and provincial power in the area, it is also an airplane departure center for Muslim pilgrims performing a *hajj* to Mecca. Its resources are extensive. Those of Sholgara are less—but growing. Both centers contrast with Aq Kupruk.

STATUS AND POWER IN AQ KUPRUK

"The formal power structure in Aq Kupruk is represented by the government hierarchy. Informal pressure groups also play great roles in decision-making." These were described by Louis Dupree in 1966. "An ethnic peck order," he suggested, "must be included in any discussion of the local power structure. Here the few *Pushtun* occupy the highest position, followed by the majority group, the *Tajik.* Within the *Tajik* group, the *Sa'dats* (*Sayyids*) and *Khoja* feel superior to the general run of *Tajik.* The *Uzbak* are the 'low men on the totem pole' in Aq Kupruk, except for the *Hazara*, living in the hills around the town. All residents of Aq Kupruk look on them with contempt. There is also a village of *Moghul* south of Aq Kupruk, and they rank with the *Hazara* at the bottom of the ethnic pecking order. [Photographs illustrating the ethnic variety of Aq Kupruk are provided in *Faces of Aq Kupruk*.]

"The *Pushtun* came to Aq Kupruk in 1949, forcibly moved there by the government, after an unsuccessful revolt by the *Safi Pushtun*, who attempted to seize the Jalalabad garrison. [Jalalabad, south of Kabul, is strategically situated on the road to the Khyber Pass, mountain gateway to the East.] The government then scattered these dissidents over north Afghanistan. The *Safi* leader in Aq Kupruk controls a 'gang'—and there is no better way to describe it. Although Aq Kupruk people have no word for this type of informal grouping, several such 'gangs' do exist. The 'gang' chiefs usually remain *outside* the recognized village governing bodies, but they are consulted when important decisions must be made, such as who shall clean out the irrigation canals, who shall work on various other outside projects (such as my archaeological excavations), who shall go to the army, and so forth."

The most intensive loyalties center around kinship groups, primarily the extended family. In descending order of intensity, the following list indicates the usual chain of loyalties: the extended family, the informal "gang," the local ethnic group, and the town of Aq Kupruk itself. This is changing in recent years, particularly since World War II. The heads of extended families have been rapidly losing influence as the Afghan Army "drafts the local young men, as new development projects have siphoned off surplus labor, and as the secular schools have set new ideals and aspirations before the younger people."

The "gang" leader is a relatively new phenomenon. It has developed as the ethnic groups have become more mixed. The "gang" itself usually includes men from several ethnic groups, thus continuing to break down ethnic and tribal loyalties. The "gang" intrudes between the ethnic or tribal group and the extended family to meet the new conditions brought about by the increased democratization in the political sphere and the new economic conditions brought about by the development programs. A "gang" usually grows out of a work group (such as coal miners, factory workers, or lorry drivers from the same routes).

"Loyalty to the town of Aq Kupruk is the weakest of all," Dupree wrote in 1966, "because people still fear the government and prefer to have as little as possible to do with it." Some people are openly antagonistic because it replaced traditional leaders with new leaders chosen in a more democratic manner. No longer do hereditary village chiefs, *maliks*, rule with the assistance and advice of the village council of elders, *rish-i-safidan*. Each area is divided into *Karichs*, and every village or town has a number of *Kariehdurs*." "Probably 'ward leader' would be the closest translation" of *Kariehdurs*. The people elect *Kariehdurs* every three years, but the central government 'authorities' must approve those elected. Just as small-town officials in the United States make careers of small-time political jobs, so do the officials of Aq Kupruk. Of the three *Kariehdurs* I know reasonably well, two had been in office for twenty years and the other for seven."

A local village council, *jirgah*, does not exist officially. But both the *Kariehdurs* and the *Alakadur* seek out the village elders for advice and counsel. In 1966 the Kishindi District had a total of fifteen *Kariehdurs* for its 19,005 men, and they formed an informal council for the leader, the *Alakadur*. Although he does not consult them collectively, he often invites a few to discuss the problems of their respective areas.

Thus national, provincial, district, and local governments influence the lives of the people of Aq Kupruk. Each of these has *power* and *status*. But the major forces in human lives at Aq Kupruk are still related primarily to ethnic background, family status, local friendships, and working relationships within the village.

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POPULATION DYNAMICS IN AFGHANISTAN

Afghanistan, unlike some of its neighbors of Southeast Asia, is not considered an overpopulated country. A United Nations estimate in 1968 set the population of Afghanistan at 16,113,000, or roughly 63 persons per square mile, as against 153 for Indonesia and 415 for India.

The rugged, steeply sloped mountains, with their high altitudes, the barren, desert-like land and dry climate are only some of the factors that limit the population of this small, land-locked nation, surrounded by four countries—the Soviet Union, Pakistan, Iran, and China.

Climate and land clearly limit the country's population. Agricultural production has been stable for many years and the population growth rate is moderate. Even though occasional cholera epidemics, or outbreaks of malaria severely cut into the population, Afghanistan has a healthy population compared to most countries of South and Southeast Asia.

Other factors also help hold the population down. A high rate of infant deaths has long been a fact in Afghanistan, probably because of unsanitary conditions in the home. Crude local abortion is practiced, and sometimes there is deliberate neglect of baby girls, considered less desirable by Afghan fathers than a baby son. Neglect of female children is not, however, as common today as it used to be. If an Afghan child reaches the age of two, he or she has a good chance of attaining maturity.

One practice that affects both attitudes and lifespan is the feuding that goes on between the males of different families. People are sometimes killed over what we might consider minor quarrels, disputes for which they have no locally available "institutionalized" mediators such as courts of law. Feuding is taken for granted by Afghans living in rural areas. It is an acceptable method for expressing grievances.

The feuding, interestingly enough, is usually of a seasonal nature. For nine or ten months of the year, the people of rural Afghanistan are busy farming and sheep-herding. In that period, hard work provides an outlet for their tensions and aggressiveness. But when the slack season comes, men sit around the village or camp telling folktales about past glories of warfare.

It is then that Afghan boys learn about masculine superiority from their fathers, uncles, and older men of the community. The tales they hear emphasize warfare and superiority of one group over others. Conflict is quick to flare up during this period of close contact in a highly charged atmosphere.

The rivalry between young men is sharpened by competitive courting of female cousins. Marriage with the daughter of the father's brother is considered very desirable. A young Afghan man will fight with other young men to marry his young cousin, whether or not she's willing to marry him. Actually most marriages are arranged by the families, leaving little choice to the young people involved.

Warfare and feuding are not limited to one group of families or to one village. When the season is slack and the men are idle, the urge is strong to feud also with *neighboring* groups. They fight over *zan* (women), *zar* (gold), and *zamin* (land).

The killing and property destruction must be equally dealt out and endured by both sides. Feuding is not continued year round because if the feud were to last into the agricultural season, valuable work and time, of great importance to the family and community, would be lost. In other words, the Afghans have a time for work and a time for war, but the two must not overlap.

Partly because sons are lost through blood feuds, large families are considered desirable. A man with only three sons might lose them all in a feud. If he is old he cannot replace them. A man with more sons is almost sure to have some male heirs when he dies, and thus his offspring perpetuate the family line. The more sons one has, the more secure is the family line. A man with many sons usually has more economic power. They help him work the land and pool their money to buy more land.

* * * * *

Despite Afghanistan's sparse population many people and agencies interested in the welfare of the country believe that the introduction of family planning and birth control practices would bring improved public health, better education, and faster economic growth.

The Afghan's interest in having many sons is only one of the factors to be overcome in trying to introduce family planning to Afghanistan. In a society where masculine superiority is the ideal, men see a large family as proof of their virility. If birth control is practiced by the wives, the husbands are likely to become angry. Also, there is opposition to birth control by religious conservatives.

46

The majority of Afghans are Muslims, believers in Islam, followers of the Prophet Mohammad. Traditionalist religious leaders think birth control practices are contrary to the teachings of Mohammad, as presented in the Koran. Modernists, now a predominantly urban minority but increasing in size, also cite the Koran's authority but interpret its meaning so as to support some forms of birth control.

While some modern Afghans do not oppose family planning or birth control measures, there are some privileged people who see any kind of social and educational reforms as threats to their power and prestige. Afghan peasants, moreover, are frequently encouraged by some religious leaders to believe quite literally that God has planned everything for them. This can make it difficult for them to accept man-made plans for the conduct of life.

Despite the opposition, a small percentage of men, especially in the cities, now accept the idea of family planning, and a larger number of women not only accept the idea, but actively practice birth control.

Even though Afghan women are trained to be submissive and male-dominated, they have sources of power. A woman may have a subordinate role in the public eye, but she is in control in the home. She chooses her sons' wives and her daughters' husbands. She also controls household activities, the family money, and influences political opinion through neighborhood gossip. When enough Afghan women realize the importance of family planning, and learn about modern birth control techniques, they can be expected to be a powerful force to support population control programs and improved living conditions for all Afghans.

An organized program for family planning began in 1968 in Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. It was begun by a voluntary association not dependent upon funds from the Afghan government. One of its first supporters was Miss Kobra Noorzai, the first woman in any Afghan Cabinet as Minister of Health.

"Planning" is a word that tends to upset many Afghans, because they believe it suggests unwanted government pressure. The name finally chosen for the family planning program was The Afghan Family Guidance Association (AFGA), because "to guide" suggests freedom to accept *or* reject birth control. Guidance implies no forced obligations and no outright rejection of religious beliefs.

AFGA slowly began to take shape in and around Kabul, with the Afghan government supplying some trained people, but with the money coming mostly from outside sources. In 1970 five clinics handled about 100 patients daily, providing information and devices to help avoid pregnancy.

With the growth of the family guidance program, the opening of new clinics and the introduction of a paid staff came the problem of how best to serve the women who wanted to practice birth control. Although the birth control pill offers a low cost way of reducing births, the volunteer physicians who started the program opposed the pill, and favored mechanical anti-pregnancy devices. They believed Afghan women would tire of the daily routine of pill-taking or simply forget to take them regularly, cancelling their effect.

To further advance the birth control program, Dr. Gregory Majzlin of New York State University, was invited to come to Afghanistan to observe and to advise. Dr. Majzlin stayed in Afghanistan for about five months in 1969. During that time he gave lectures on the proper way to take medical histories and keep records. He studied the pill's results in Afghanistan and came away convinced that most Afghan women had much to learn about birth control. He found that, as predicted, a great many women took the pill for a while, then stopped.

Dr. Majzlin realized there were many obstacles to progress, such as poorly trained personnel, professional people with closed minds, lack of interest from administrators, hasty diagnoses and unsanitary conditions. Along with Dr. Abdul Ghafar Aziz, the French-educated physician to whom AFGA owes its existence, Dr. Majzlin developed a survey to measure existing knowledge, attitudes, and practices of Afghan families in family planning.

An earlier survey had indicated a high fertility ratio, that 80 per cent of the families with four children or more wanted to stop their family growth. Lack of knowledge of AFGA in outlying rural areas indicated an urgent need for more nationwide publicity.

The Afghan Family Guidance Association works constantly to gain acceptance in spite of continued conservative religious opposition. And they do not work alone. Many progressive religious leaders have visited other Islamic countries to observe family planning activities. Most returned to Afghanistan as supporters of the family planning programs, convinced that such programs have a rightful place in the Islamic world.

Supporting the AFGA and family planning was a booklet published in Arabic and English by an institution in Cairo called Al-Azhar, the best known and most prestigious center of religious instruction and opinion in the Muslim world. It helped to clarify the family planning program by explaining the meaning of many passages from the Koran. The Al-Azhar booklet set forth family planning ideas in a modern and practical manner intended to offset religious doubts. For example:

1) The family is sacred and encouraged by Islam.

2) Children are important as perpetuators of the family and Islam, but must be trained by their parents to live responsibly.

3) Islam does not forbid married couples from practicing temporary birth control, but mutual consent is absolutely essential.

4) Family planning cannot be introduced as *public law*, and therefore, cannot be *forced* on any individual.

5) Several good reasons can be used by individual couples to justify birth control. Among them: *economic* (the couple cannot support additional children); *health* (more children or children spaced too close together would endanger the health of the mother); *psychological* (a woman may wish to stop having children in order to remain attractive, so that she can hold onto her husband and prevent possible divorce); *biological* (hereditary diseases in the family).

6) Concerning abortion: If not having an abortion is more harmful than having one, abortion is permissible, but only up to the fourth month of pregnancy.

7) Family planning should always be included in the overall effort for population control and be combined with increased educational opportunities, agricultural and industrial development.

In the face of many difficulties the AFGA has operated fairly smoothly in the cities during its first few years, but progress may be even more difficult as AFGA expands into the rural areas. Religious prejudice, ignorance, and mistrust of change in life style all combine to create strong opposition to family planning among the less educated peasants. Afghanistan is no exception, however, for nowhere in the world has the introduction of family planning programs found ready acceptance by the general population.

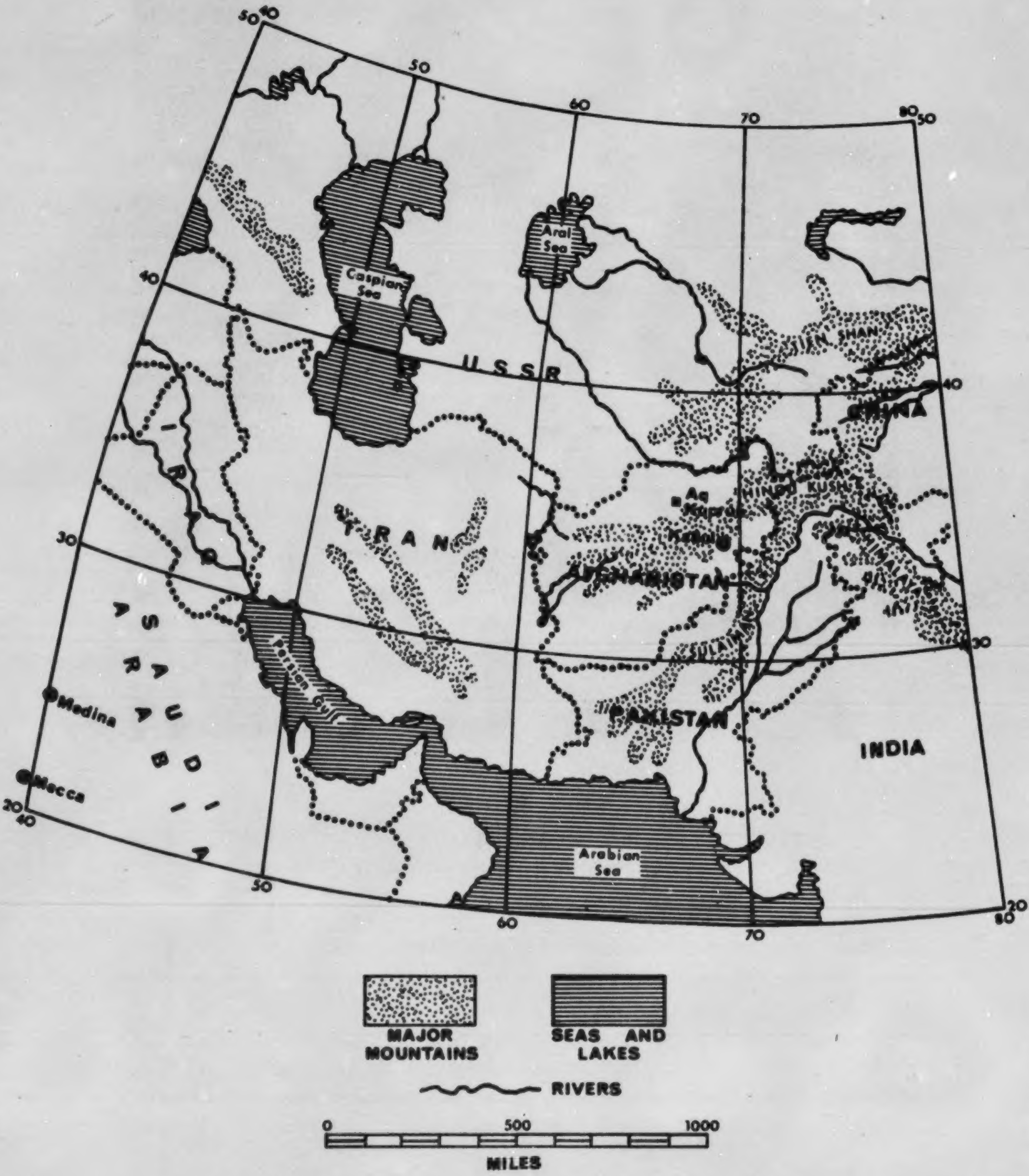
Khoja *mullah* and farmer in Aq Kupruk.

ISLAM
THE HAJJ AND THE MULLAH

Islam shapes the entire structure of Afghan society. It provides not only a religious code but also a full moral, ethical, and legal system—in short, a way of life.

The high water mark in the religious experience for most Muslim males is the pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca, the holy city of Islam. Although the *hajj* is a religious duty, few Afghan males can afford the money or the time for such a long journey.

Before the appearance of airplanes and hard-surface roads in Afghanistan and in much of Southwest Asia, a *hajj* might take weeks, months, or years. Now it is not uncommon for wealthy Afghans to make at least part of the journey by charter airplane, although some pilgrims still make the laborious journey overland.



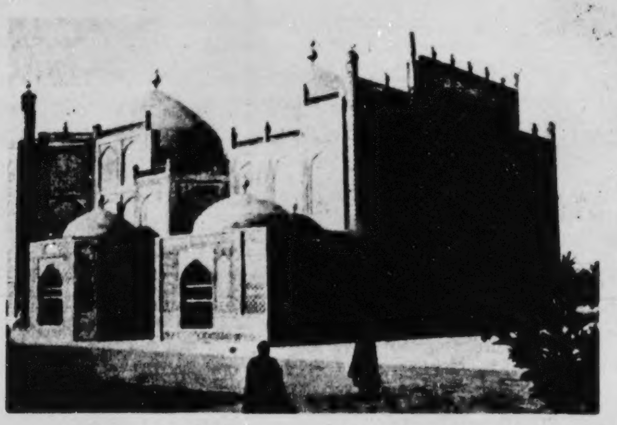
U S S R
CHINA
TIEN SHAN
HINDU KUSH
HIMALAYAS
Aral Sea
Caspian Sea
Aq Kupruk
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
SULAIMAN
PAKISTAN
INDIA
I R A N
I R A Q
S A U D I A R A B I A
Medina
Mecca
Persian Gulf
Arabian Sea
40
50
60
70
80
30
20
MAJOR MOUNTAINS
SEAS AND LAKES
RIVERS
0
500
1000
MILES

What route would you choose for a pilgrimage from Aq Kupruk to Mecca?

An unusually large percentage of Aq Kupruk men have made a *hajj* to Mecca and are thus entitled to be called *hajji*. Of the 19,000 males in the Kishindi district of which Aq Kupruk is the capital, more than 1,000 men over twenty years old have completed a pilgrimage to the holy city of Islam. This indicates the wealth of the Aq Kupruk region in comparison with other areas of Afghanistan, the Middle East, and Central Asia. The men of Aq Kupruk invest a high percentage of their earnings toward performing a *hajj*.

Considerable prestige attaches to Afghans who complete the pilgrimage to Mecca. They may wear white turbans to set themselves apart from the majority of Muslims who cannot go. But the latter often are able to visit Islamic shrines of local importance and thus discharge some of their religious duty.

The most sacred Afghan shrine is in Mazar-i-Sharif, the largest city in northern Afghanistan and within easy traveling distance from Aq Kupruk. There a fabulously beautiful mosque, graced by many blue-tiled domes, was built on what is believed to be the Tomb of Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law and successor (4th Caliph). So honored are the city and the tomb that non-Muslims are not permitted to enter the interior of the blue mosque.



The fabled blue mosque at Mazar-i-Sharif.

Islam permeates the entire fabric of Afghan society. Therefore the *mullah*, traditionally the religious leader, the scholar and reader of the Koran, and interpreter of law, has long held a powerful position in Afghanistan. His influence extends to every level—in nomadic tribes, in isolated villages, in provincial towns, and in rapidly modernizing cities like Kabul or Mazar-i-Sharif. Aq Kupruk is no different. There the numerous *mullah* are honored. Most of them can read and write, and their interpretations of the Koran are respected. They are married men with families. A *mullah* can assist the believer desiring to visit Mecca. Many *mullah* have been there and can help one make plans. And since most of the *mullah* in Aq Kupruk support themselves through farming, they represent the whole fabric of human life at Aq Kupruk. They are involved in every fiber: religion, leadership and politics, family life, education, food production, and trade.

Until very recently all Afghan lawyers and judges were also religious leaders. Similarly, the village *mullah* was usually the medical advisor, whose practice might well involve the use of magic as well as herbs. Perhaps more important, education was traditionally exclusively in the hands of the *mullah*, who was very often the only literate man in many towns or villages.

Except in the larger towns and cities, education still is mostly limited to males. It emphasizes reading, memorization, and recitation of the Koran. Until recently few attended school in Aq Kupruk. But now a primary school is active and a secondary education program is planned. Schooling is becoming a goal in addition to one's ambition to go to Mecca. But neither is considered for females.

Charter flights are making it possible for more Afghans to make the pilgrimage to Mecca and the *mullah* is giving up some of his powers as sole educator—keeper of the keys to knowledge. But modernization in Afghanistan is still basically urban. The phase of rural modernization has yet to begin through most of Afghanistan. Institutional changes begun in the cities filter slowly into small towns like Aq Kupruk. There, the *mullah* continues performing his many roles much the same as ten years ago, or a hundred years ago.

Young boys continue to spend hot summer mornings learning to repeat "There is no God but God and Mohammad is his messenger" (*ashhadu anna la ilaha illa llahu wa anna muhammadan rasulu llah*). Young girls learn from their mothers how to bake *nan*, the common flat bread, and to tie beautifully colored carpets. Boys can look forward to having a horse, perhaps flying to Mecca and even becoming a *mullah*. There are not, as yet, equivalent goals for their sisters.

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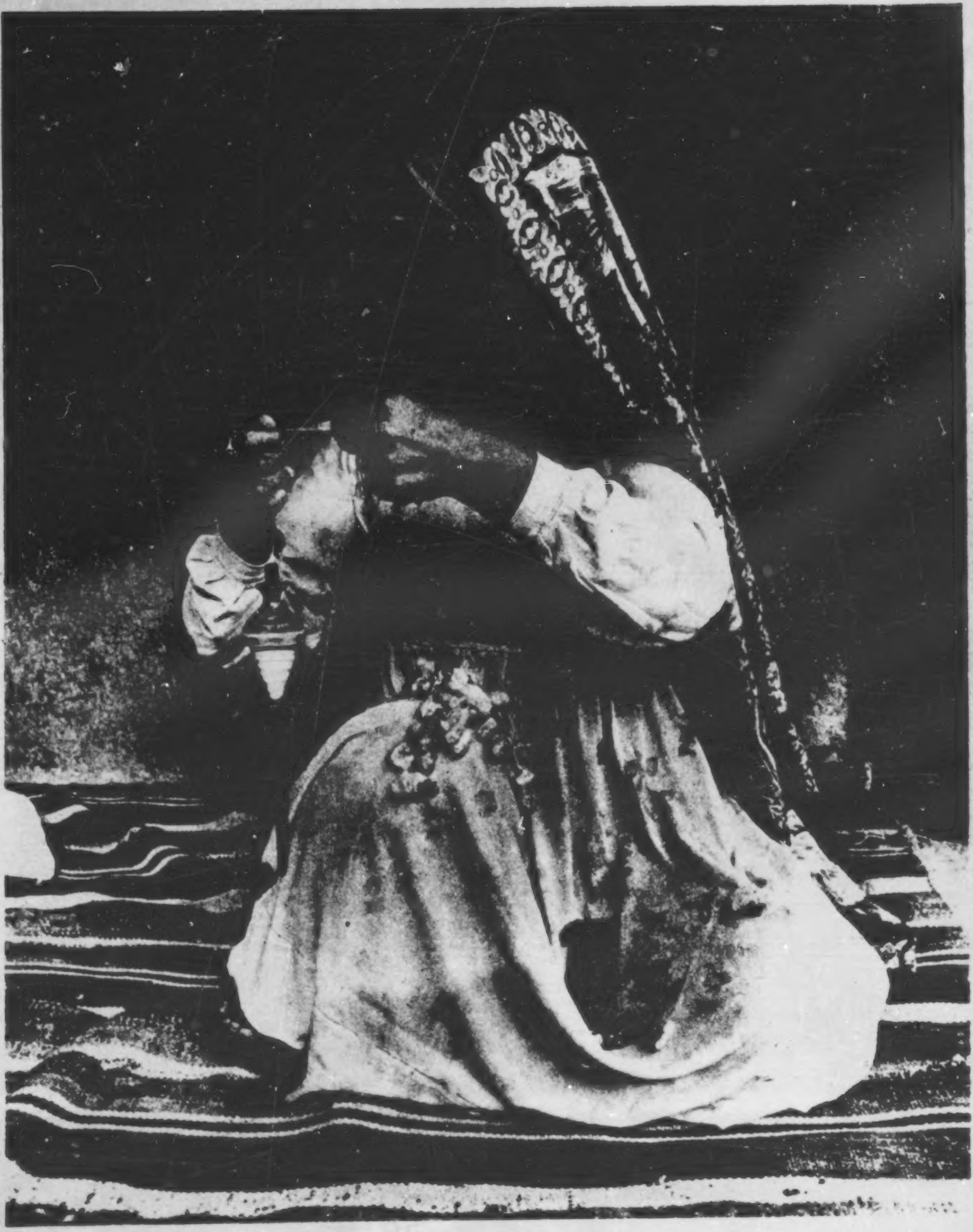
AQ KUPRUK AT WORK

Photographic Scenes



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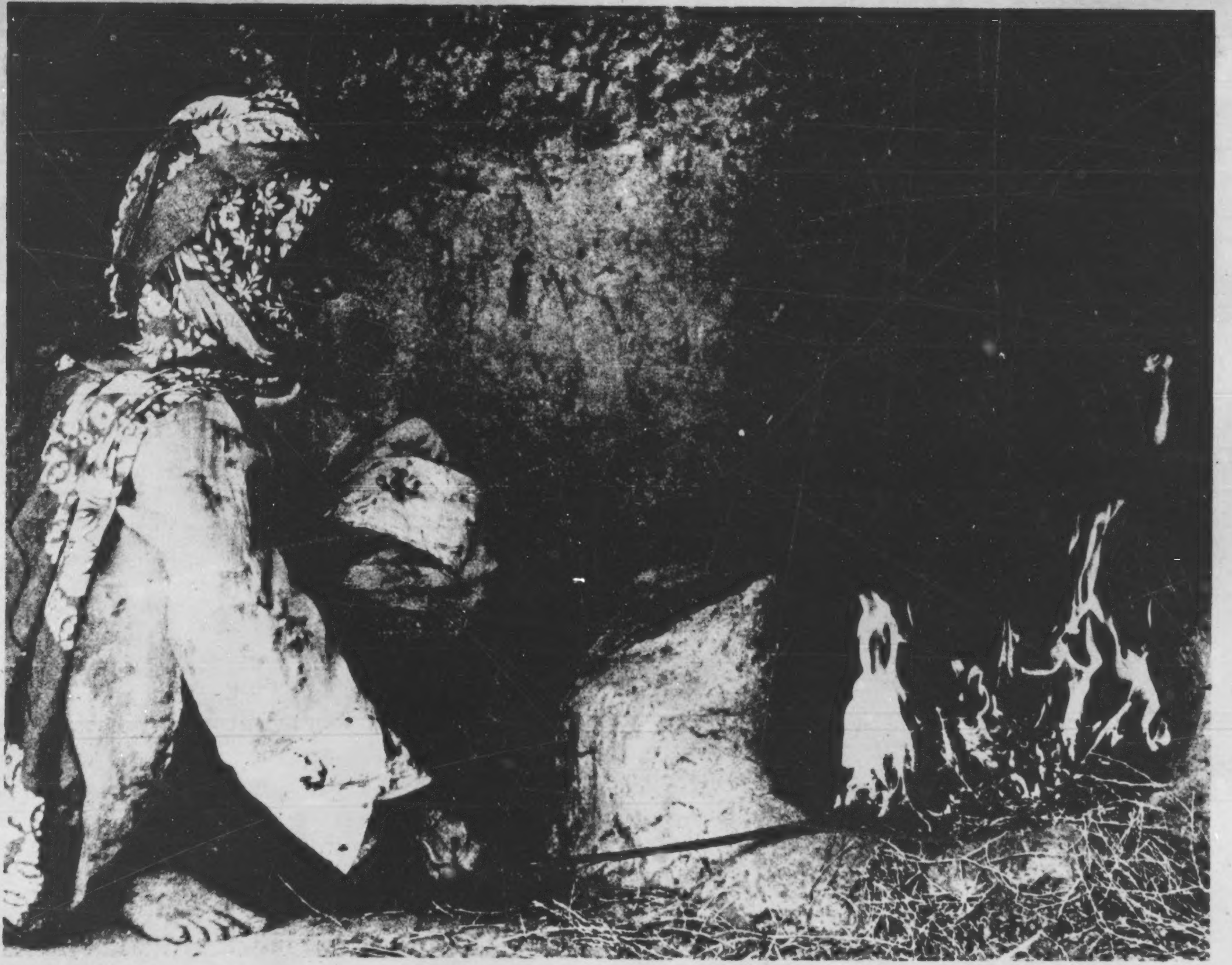

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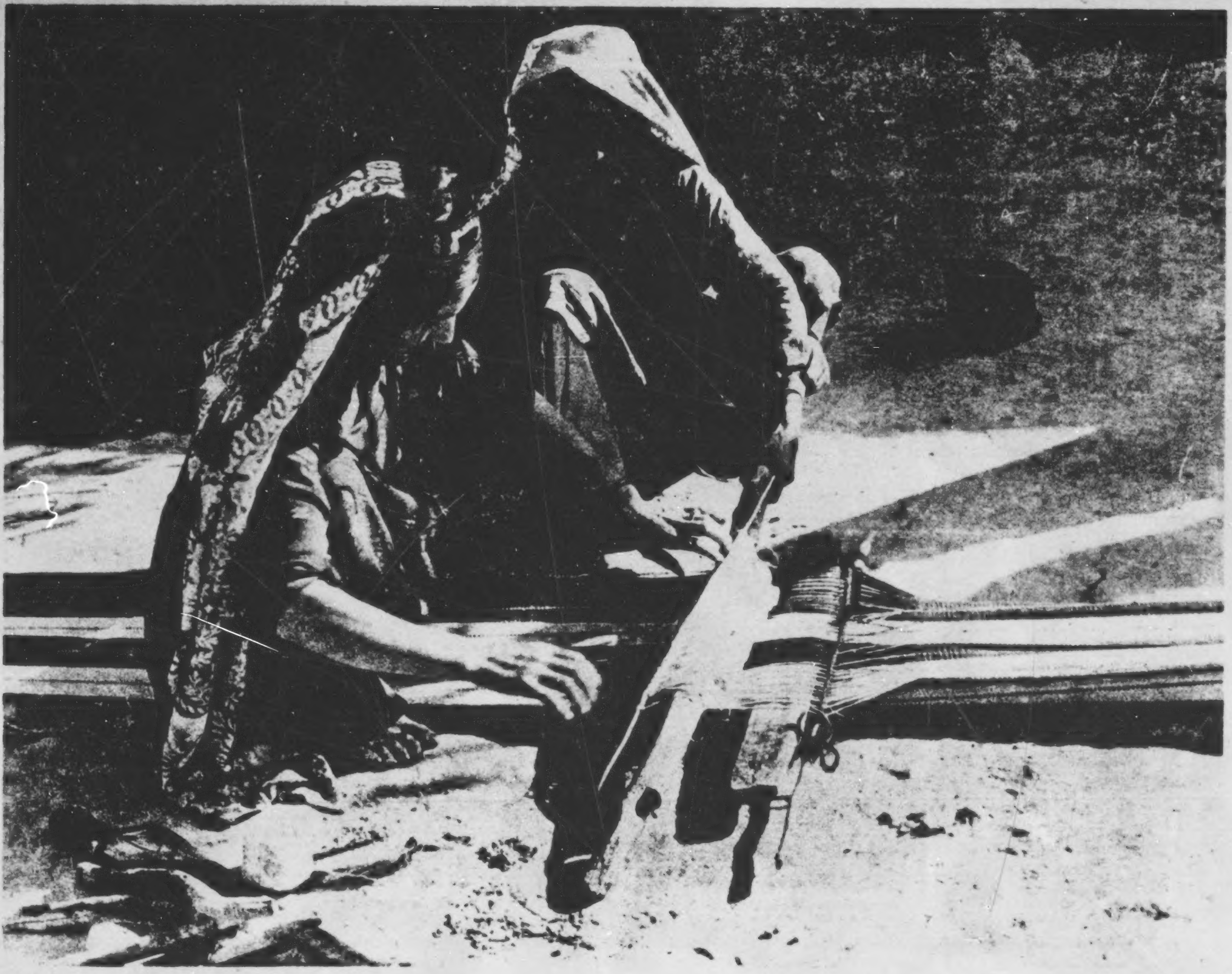
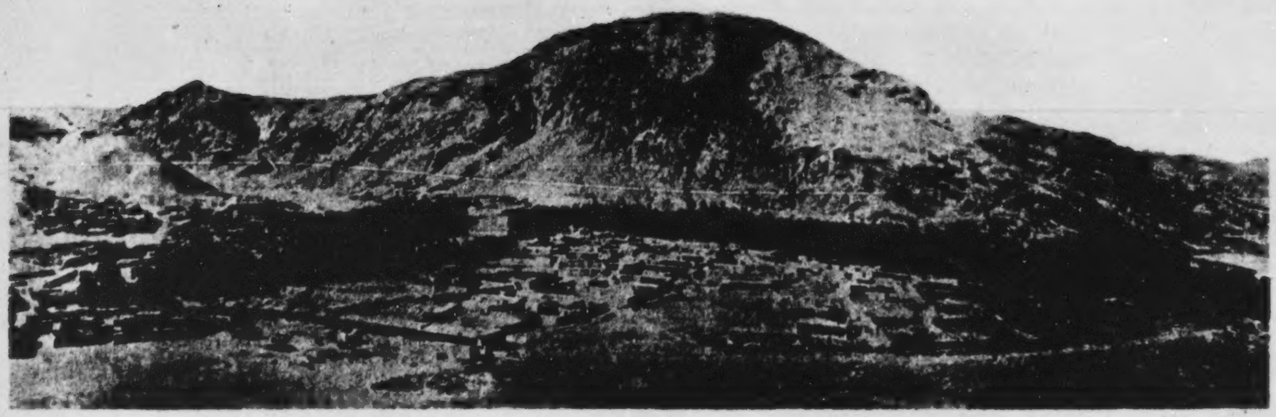


THE PHOTOGRAPHS

One	Uzbak farmer selling tomatoes in the Aq Kupruk bazaar on the weekly market day.
Two	Itinerant pottery repairman in bazaar on market day. A Tajik, he travels from bazaar to bazaar in the region. He uses a diamond point bow drill and egg white to repair broken pots, teacups, and so on. His young son travels with him to learn the trade.
Three	Uzbak woman spinning locally grown silk.
Four	Tajik barber and customers in the bazaar.
Five	Tajik woman preparing soup for lunch.
Six	Tajik woman with an Uzbak spinning wheel.
Seven	Tajik woman weaving food bags for horses.
Eight	A Khan of the Mohmand Pushtun tribe camped outside Aq Kupruk. His younger brother (with rifle) attempts to ensure a tranquil atmosphere in which trading may take place.

LIFE AT AQ KUPRUK



Aq Kupruk, a town at the "white bridge" is an ancient human habitation site. Its mud-brick and mud-roofed houses set in earthen-walled compounds are cool shelters in the summer, warm in the winter, but dark.

There is no electricity to light these dwellings though kerosene and gasoline lanterns serve the purpose well.

Goats and chickens wander freely in Aq Kupruk and so do children and dogs and cats. Horses and donkeys are tied wherever convenient. For it is, at least on first observation, quite an informal town.

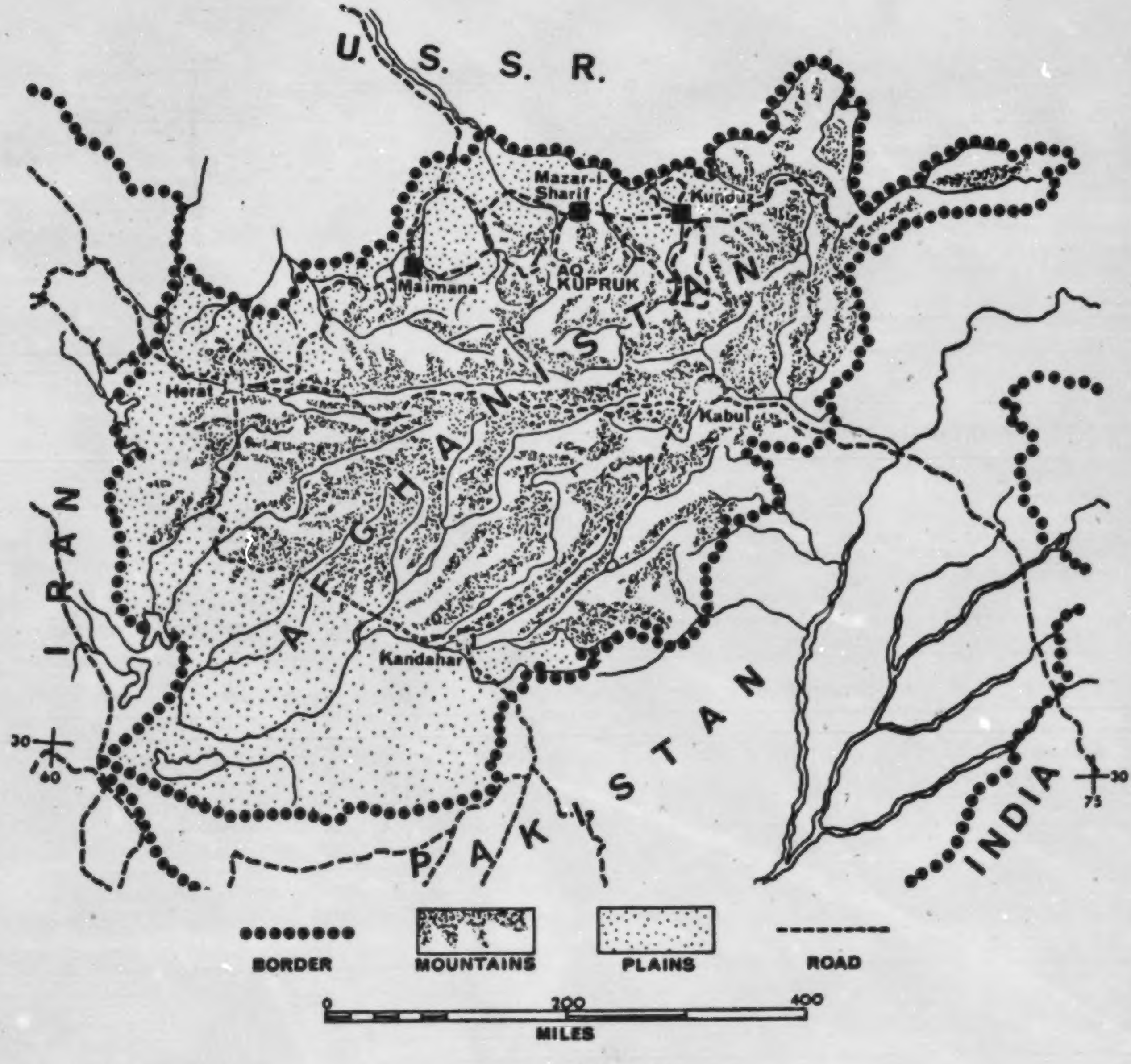
Fifteen hundred men, more or less, and their families consider Aq Kupruk their home town. In addition they share it with about three thousand nomad families who pass by once or twice each year.

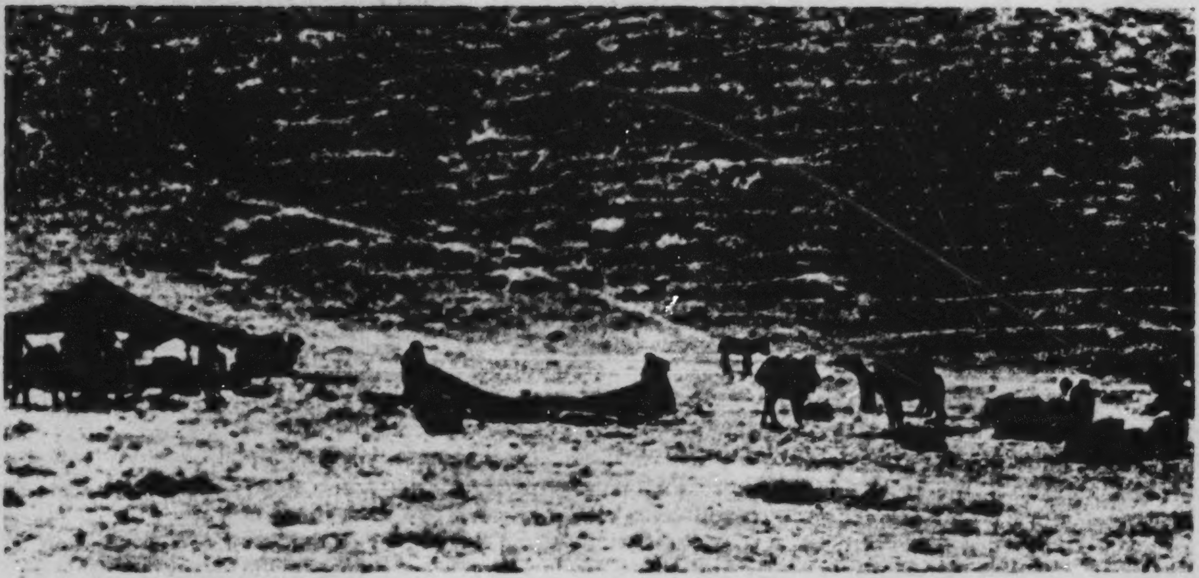
It is, rather was, the bazaar center for several villages which are in the surrounding area. In its way, the town is a commercial center with a lengthy tradition of trading.

Aq Kupruk was also once the capital of the District of Kishindi, the *Alakadari Kishindi.* It is in Balkh Province, one of Afghanistan's twenty-eight administrative subdivisions and named for the Balkh River which flows through Aq Kupruk toward Mazar-i-Sharif, the provincial capital downstream and to the north.

There is a seasonal rhythm to life at Aq Kupruk and a colorfulness, perhaps to compensate for the monotonous earth tones of the mud-built town against the background of rocky cliffs and near-barren plains.

Winter is mostly bleak but occasionally cold winds from the northeast blow snow clouds away exposing a brilliant sun. As spring begins it is brisk and quickly warms to bring life and color to the vegetation which grows along the river. On the distant hills clumps of grass green from spring rains and longer periods of daylight. Herds


U. S. S. R.
Mazar-i-Sharif
Kunduz
Maimana
AQ KUPRUK
AFGHANISTAN
Herat
Kabul
Kandahar
IRAN
PAKISTAN
INDIA
30
60
30
75
BORDER
MOUNTAINS
PLAINS
ROAD
0
200
400
MILES



Nomads pitching tents for their stay at Aq Kupruk.

of goats and sheep climb higher into the hills each week, following the ascent of spring to higher altitudes. As spring progresses, the increasingly dry air brings day after day of bright blue skies.

Nomad visits begin in spring and gardens are planted. New lambs and goat kids are nursed, flocks are shorn of their winter-grown wool.

With gardens in need of tending, the shopping, trading, and sitting around in the bazaar is an unaffordable luxury. All hands are needed for work.

Wheat ripens in midsummer and whole families leave town to visit uphill fields and harvest grain. For awhile, the town is virtually depopulated, though someone is always around to tend the irrigated crops in the lowlands adjacent to the town and to assure that robbers do not have a field day in the bazaar shops or private homes.

From the hillside wheatfield harvests all come home. Gardens are at their productive peak. Drying and storing foods continues from summer through fall.

Now townspeople can relax, especially if the harvest has been good. Everyone is in town and it is a good time to celebrate. Men can wrestle and play *buzkashi*, the popular national sport, a rough game played by men on horseback.

Horses have been grazed and exercised all summer. They can be raced. No formal races, of course, just a little local competition.

Nomads pass by again, returning to their winter camping grounds on the plains to the north. They might want to race or trade and can be counted upon to add some interest to a day's activity in the town.

The bazaar is busy in the fall, for surplus produce must be sold and this is the time to purchase warm clothing and perhaps a lantern for the forthcoming shorter and colder days. New boots or shoes, maybe, and a brightly colored shirt.

For shopkeepers these are long and busy days. Teahouses and inns are crowded. Everyone wants to exchange their surplus for whatever they are short. Raisins? Nuts? Cloth? A mirror? Or a knife and maybe even an automatic rifle?

Farmers count their livestock and determine what to keep and what to sell. An area near the graveyard functions as the stockyard and farmers' market where produce and surplus animals are traded or sold. Goats, sheep. An ox. A donkey. Chickens. A fine horse. Baskets of wheat. Corn. Melons and tomatoes must be sold before they spoil.

It's a good time for nomads to visit for they have accumulated produce and goods as they passed through other towns, the mountain settlements of Hazara peoples, and while camping in the mountain meadows south of the town. Butter. Yogurt. Wool and rugs. An extra goat. An old weak ewe that won't survive further travel and the winter on the plains. They will need wheat for bread in the approaching winter. Along the way they have stopped to graze their animals on wheat stubble in the hillside fields and leave, unintentionally, payments in the form of animal manure fertilizers. In a sense Aq Kupruk is their town too. They just use it less often than those who live there all through the year.

Preparations for winter bring thoughts of school. A building has been constructed at one end of town near the *buzkashi* playing fields. The government provides a teacher; a man, of course.

Not everyone goes to school and the range in age of those who do is great. For centuries the day-to-day activities essential to survival have absorbed all the energies of all the people of Aq Kupruk. Now a few, almost all of them males, go to school. Someday some may go away for advanced schooling. Will they come back from Herat, Mazar-i-Sharif or Kabul?

Will they be invited to study in Samarkand, Tashkent, or Moscow? In Cairo? In America?

RELIGION

Religion is a constantly visible presence in Aq Kupruk. There are almost a doz[illegible] mosques. Five times a day the air is filled by the voices of *mullah* chanting prayers and offering advice from the Koran. Monuments to saints, *ziarat*, stand as mute reminders of martyrs to the faith. No pork is eaten. Ritual handwashing, ritual bathing, and plural marriages are all part of Aq Kupruk life since everyone is Muslim.

Many Aq Kupruk males have journeyed to the holy city of Mecca in far away Saudi Arabia. A man is proud of his *hajj*. He is also pleased to return home where his white turban, often the identifying mark of a *hajji*, will make him the envy of those men who have not been to Mecca. Many Aq Kupruk pilgrims have visited mosques at Sholgara and the Blue Mosque of Mazar-i-Sharif. References to Mohammad and Ali and Fatima figure prominently in the oral tradition of these families.

COMMERCE

At the heart of the town is the bazaar. There were one hundred and eleven shops open daily as recently as 1959. Then bazaar activity declined. Only about seventy shops were open, and only twice a week, by the summer of 1965. During the same period, bazaar activity has been increasing in nearby Sholgara, which replaced Aq Kupruk as the district administrative center. Much of the area's trade, reflected in bazaar activity, has also gone there. Aq Kupruk has less power and status than it once had.

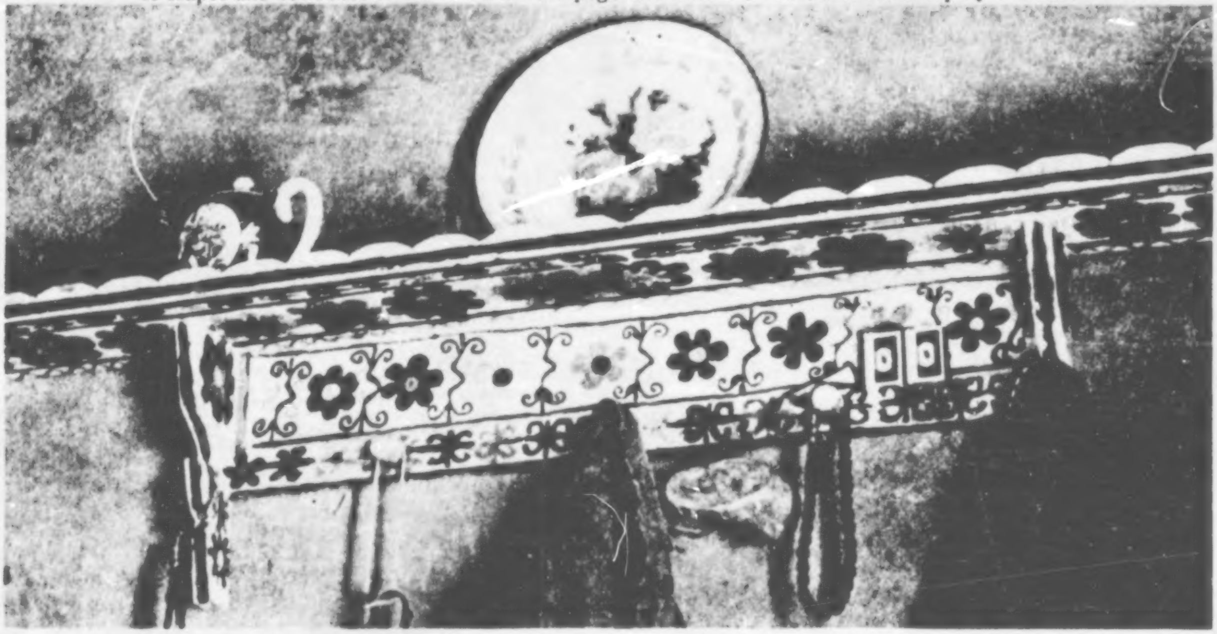
Aq Kupruk was a town, perhaps even potentially a small provincial city. It is still a town, but it is becoming a village.

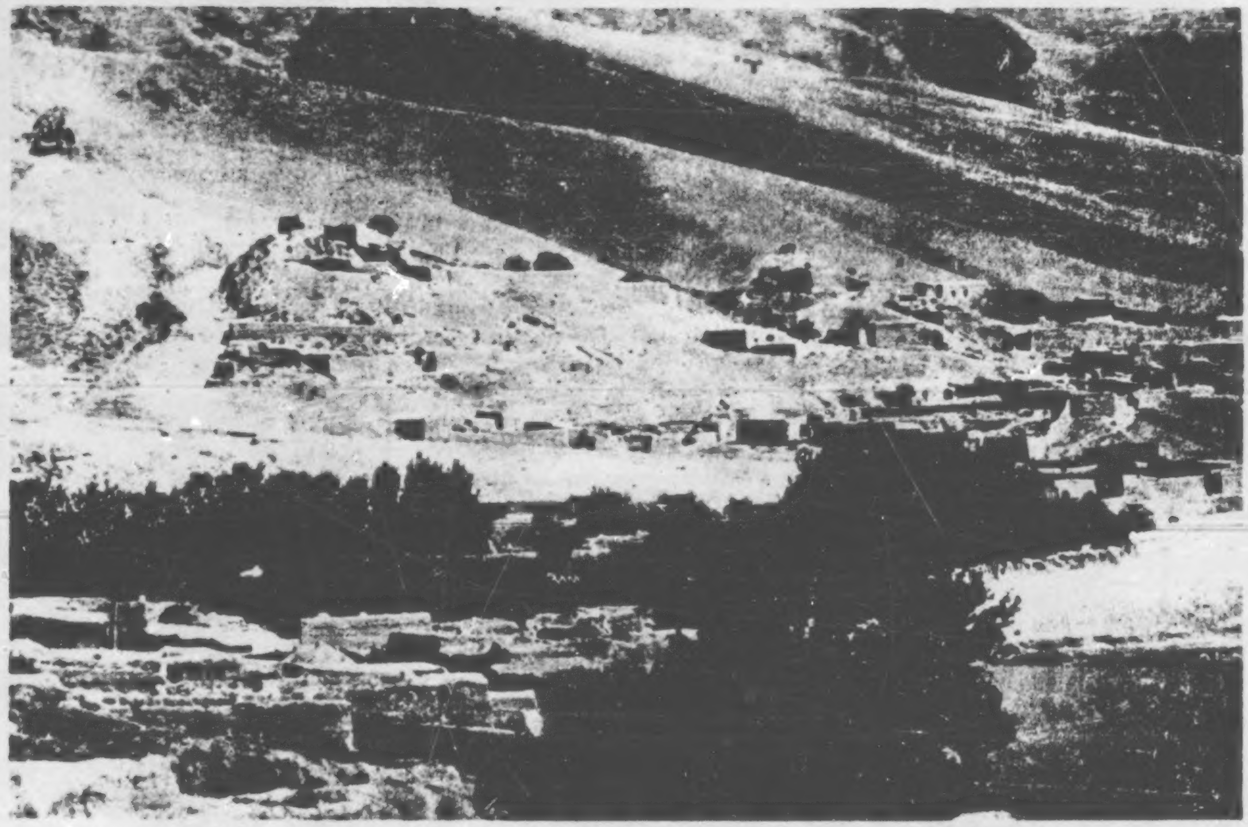
Of the one hundred and eleven shops open in Aq Kupruk in 1959, fourteen have remained permanently closed since 1961. Two of these have been converted to family residences. Change is constant at Aq Kupruk. Life is never static.

Open daily in 1965 were forty-six shops including one barber, one shoe repairman, an iron monger, and two cloth shops, *bazazi*. There were three butcher shops, to prepare meat in accordance with Islamic custom, five inns (*serais*), and nine teahouses (*chai khaneh*). Five shops dealt in agricultural produce and shoes. Eighteen were general stores, *bonjaraghi*. Each shop had a shopkeeper, usually a full-time specialist tending his business and craft on a daily basis.

Some shopkeepers were and are "part-time" specialists. Farmers, in some seasons and on some special days, also keep shops. A farmer can also serve as a religious leader, *mullah*. There are roles for everyone in Aq Kupruk and many men have several important ones.

Detail from inside an *Uzbak* house.
A teapot and bowl rest on the shelf. On the pegs are scissors, coats, and Muslim prayer beads.





The *Uzbak* living area of Aq Kupruk is in the background. *Tajik* homes are in the foreground.

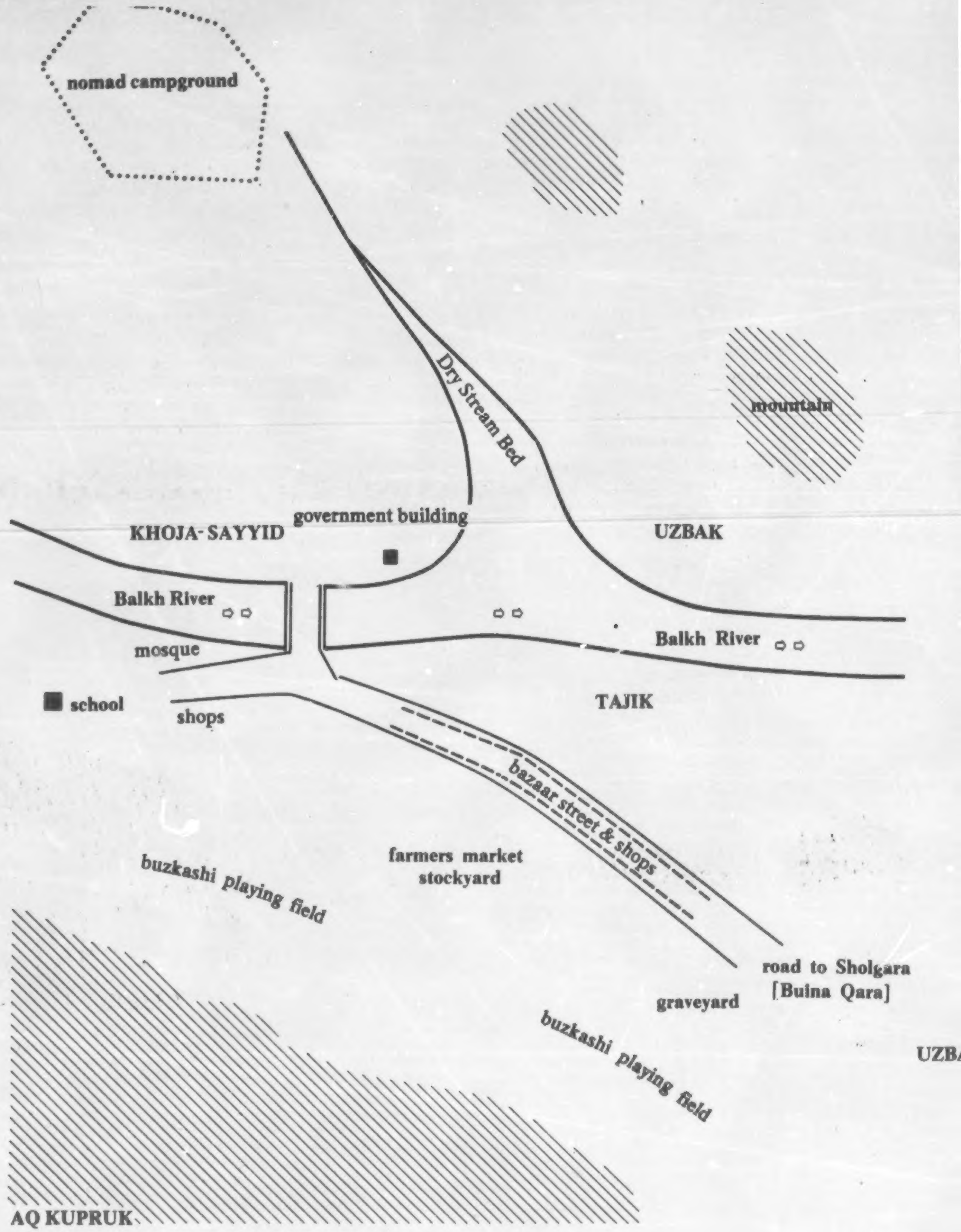
Every Aq Kupruk shopkeeper, whether involved full- or part-time, is also a landowner. Thus, when bazaar activity declined it was possible for many to invest more of their time in farming, though some surely must have redirected their commercial interests to Sholgara, or some other larger town.

In addition to the landowning shopkeepers there are other craftsmen in Aq Kupruk. Their work does not require a shop.

Three carpenters work whenever and wherever there is a construction demand. They and one iron worker, three mechanics, and four tailors can perform their specialties at home and travel elsewhere as their skills are needed.

There are distinct neighborhoods in Aq Kupruk, ethnically defined. They are connected by walled paths.

Khoja, Uzbak, and Tajik share Aq Kupruk—but they live apart. Uzbak live nearest the steep limestone cliffs on the sloping lands at the foot of a small mountain. Khoja live on a larger piece of land between the nomad trail and a dry wash gully which fans out into the river near the bridge. Tajik live between the bazaar and river.

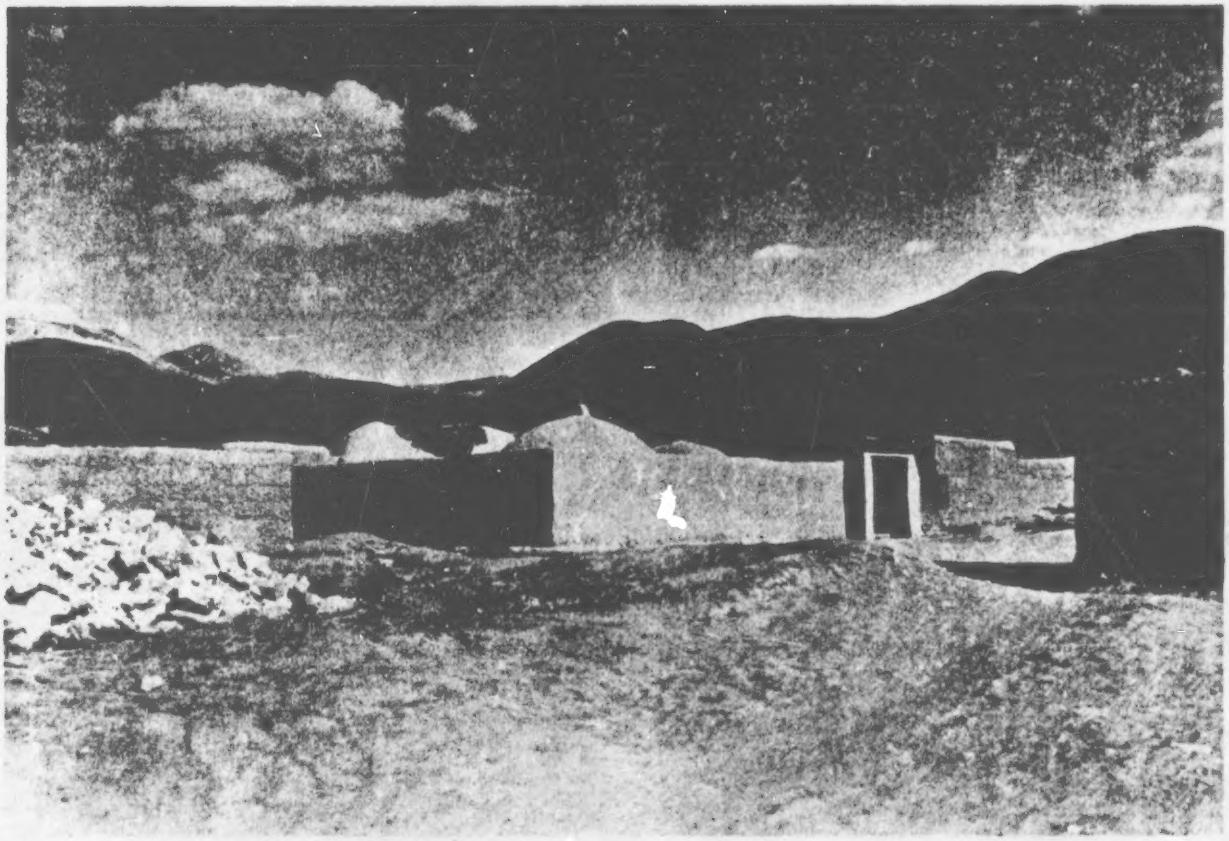

nomad campground
Dry Stream Bed
mountain
government building
KHOJA-SAYYID
UZBAK
Balkh River
Balkh River
mosque
school
shops
TAJIK
bazaar street & shops
farmers market
stockyard
buzkashi playing field
road to Sholgara
[Buina Qara]
graveyard
buzkashi playing field
UZBA

AQ KUPRUK
A TOWN IN NORTHERN AFGHANISTAN

Across the bridge from the government administrative center, there is a school and the bazaar, campgrounds, and the largest section of flat land in the town. Near the bazaar and family compounds there is plenty of ground for the farmers' market, nomad campgrounds, a graveyard, and a *buzkashi* playing field. Then the land rises again, its slopes terraced by centuries of trampling by sheep and goats.

* * * * *

Aq Kupruk. A small town. People are born here, without benefit of hospital or medical doctor. Taxes are collected here and taken to Sholgara, Mazar-i-Sharif, and Kabul. People work here and worship five times each day. Sometimes someone moves here but that is rarer than someone moving away. There are weddings, feasts, games. There are frequent funerals for babies who die at birth or in infancy, less frequently for their mothers who die with complications of childbirth. Funerals for the old are accepted calmly. Funerals for those males who die in blood feuds raise high the emotional pitch of the entire community. A town. A small town, it is full of life. Contemporary but ancient, Aq Kupruk is home to an unknown number of humans in a little known area of the world.



AQ KUPRUK, AN ANCIENT VILLAGE IN CENTRAL ASIA

Since the world began "people have lived here" said the white-bearded old man of Aq Kupruk. His pride in this dry mountainous valley and in his village seemed to assure that God must have included Aq Kupruk in the original act of creation.

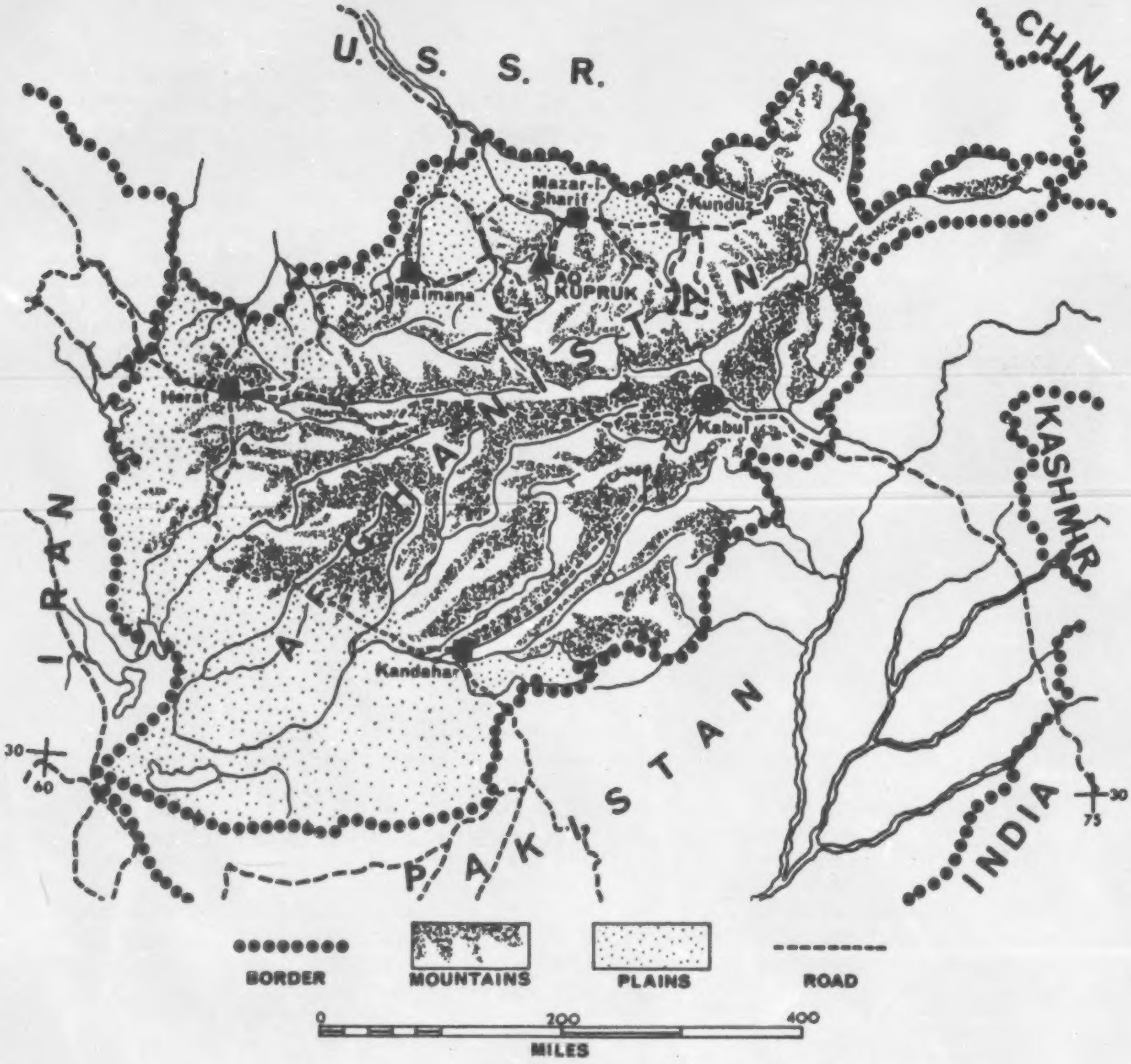
Mankind did come to this valley of the Balkh River quite early. Humans have lived in and near *Aq Kupruk*, "White Bridge" in the Turkic language, for fifteen to twenty thousand years. According to the available archaeological evidence, the area has been continuously occupied by humans since as early as 18,000-13,027 B.C. and the village site since around 2,000 B.C. Quite a long time.

Aq Kupruk may have been one of the earliest agricultural development centers. Archaeological excavations in the area have indicated the early use of grains, barley and wheat, and animals, including cattle, goats, sheep, and fowl.

The site has served as a river crossing and traveler's stopping place for thousands of years. It is located on a major route connecting the Mediterranean Basin areas with Central Asia and China. Greeks led by Alexander the Great and others, Persians, Arabs, perhaps even Marco Polo, Mongols led by Genghis Khan and others, Buddhists from China and India, Russians, Europeans—all these and more have passed through and perhaps stopped for awhile at the site of Aq Kupruk.

Conquerors came and left. Empires claimed the area as a part of their territory. Migrants passed through on their way toward some opportunity or away from some danger. Some stayed. Annually, nomad caravans still pass through, trade a little, and share the news. Then they resume the cycle of travel which brings them to highlands in the warm months, lowlands in the cold months, sometimes passing Aq Kupruk twice each year.

Change has come before and will come again,from prehistoric site to historic campground and bridge site and then village and town status, Aq Kupruk developed. Recently it has begun to decrease in size and seems to be returning to its former status as a village.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Kunduz
Maimana
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Herat
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
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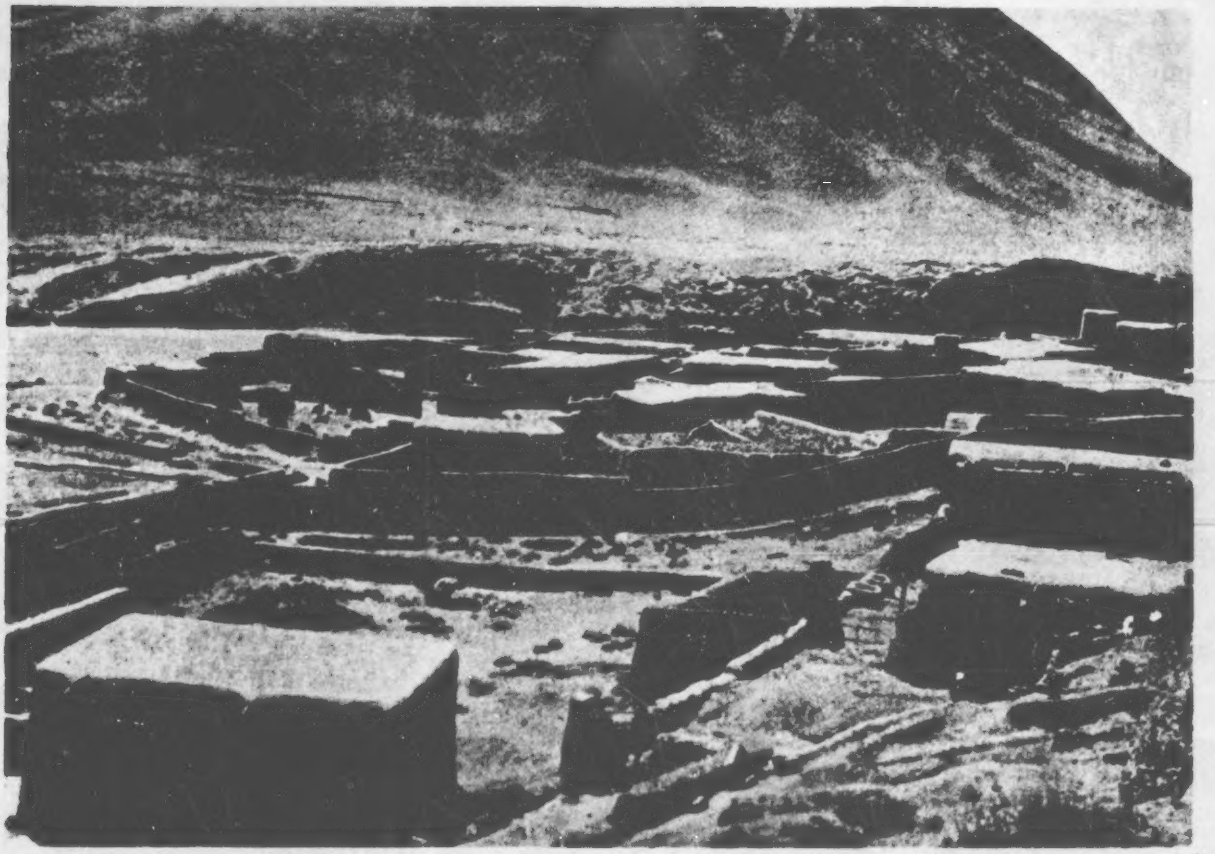
Kandahar
PAKISTAN
INDIA
30
60
30
75
BORDER
MOUNTAINS
PLAINS
ROAD
0
200
400
MILES

There have been good times and bad, long summers and short ones. Crops have been bountiful some years and in others have been poor. Too little rainfall has been followed by too much. Drought and flood, disease, prosperity and poverty are known to the people of Aq Kupruk.

The air is dry. Sunlight is brilliant, radiating through the usually cloudless sky. The hills are dry. The river is the only dependable supply of water. It collects the flow of springs and creeks in the mountainous Hindu Kush to the south of Aq Kupruk and carries this flow northwestwardly, from the Balkh to the Amu Darya and then across the Soviet border almost to the shrinking Aral Sea.

The Balkh River flows through Aq Kupruk, bringing vital life-sustaining water to man, animals, and soil.



Living in cavelike mud-brick homes surrounded by thick mud compound walls, Aq Kupruk families live close to nature, not much differently than in times past. Spring brings rain to nurture the wheat planted on hillsides. Summer heat ripens it to provide a harvest of grain and vegetables and fruit. Fall brings cooler days and final harvests, time and reasons to market and trade in the bazaar. Passing caravans bring opportunities to exchange ideas and goods with others. Islam provides opportunities for religious celebrations. And winter is a time to consume the stored crops, patch harnesses and saddles, repair shoes, and prepare for the forthcoming spring. "People have lived here since the world began," according to the white-bearded old man.

Nomads passing through Aq Kupruk. The word nomad derives from a Greek term meaning *one who wanders for pasture.*

NOMADS

Aq Kupruk people are accustomed to the annual visits of nomad groups who can be expected to pass by during the warm months between May and September. These *Pushtun* nomads number as many as three thousand families and they use an ancient trail along the Balkh River. It enables them to approach Aq Kupruk from the north as they journey southward into the Hindu Kush Mountains.

With camel bells swinging and bouncing, they usually arrive between midnight and dawn, moving into the traditional camping areas north and south of the town in the early morning light.

Groaning under heavy loads these one-humped Asian camels carry tents and poles, pots and pans, buckets made from Russian gasoline cans, drums, and even lambs, chickens, pets, and children.

The nomadic women wear colorful dresses embroidered with gold and silver decorative jewelry and sequins, perhaps the envy of more somberly clad Aq Kupruk females. Their head-veils, often decorated with coins or small medallions, can be pulled across their faces at the sight of a stranger. They sometimes ride on top of the swaying camels, especially if they have young babies. But most of the time they are scampering after straying children or animals while the men, rifles slung casually over the shoulder, keep the caravan moving along the centuries-old route. Women also make the tents, set them up, disassemble, repack, and repair them. They pack and unpack the animals. These *Pushtun* nomad women cook, process milk to make cheese and other products, and, of course, they bear and raise the children. Yet, from the viewpoint of some of the house-bound women of Aq Kupruk, the nomadic women are free.

Nomad men care for the livestock. Horses and camels, sheep and goats, chickens, and other animals are all brought along.

In fact, nomads must maintain sizable herds to sustain the families on their long orbital route. "Poor" nomads retreat to settled communities, either permanently or long enough to expand their herds, perhaps also acquiring wealth in other forms such as money or land.

Nomad Camps outside Aq Kupruk.

In Aq Kupruk and elsewhere in the region, nomads are called *maldar*. The size of their herds of sheep and goat indicates wealth. They can be expected also to own the finest horses, another sign of prosperity and status. The term for insulting these nomads is *kuchi*. It is not used among the *maldar* themselves. And there are groups of gypsies, *jats*, who pass through the area selling charms and working as seasonal laborers.

Of the wealthy *maldar*, Aq Kupruk farmers speak in hushed, seemingly embarrassed tones. They fear these nomads, though it is necessary to engage in commerce with them over almost a third of each year. Aq Kupruk is on the summer end of the nomad grazing and trading cycle. In the winter the *maldar* barter their herds for manufactured goods—tea, salt, sugar, tobacco. In the remote mountain villages they barter the manufactured goods for local produce, perhaps nuts, fruit, shorn wool or livestock. Operating a kind of camel express, they may take valuable goods on consignment to be sold in a distant bazaar. They are trusted to return the proceeds on the next pass through the region. Their trading is always brisk and often somewhat suspect to the Aq Kupruk farmers.

The nomads have traditional rights to graze their flocks on the same fields each year after the harvests. Their sheep and goats eat the wheat stubble on the hillsides. The manure is later plowed under by the landowners whose soil is thus enriched at no direct cost. Villagers, nomads, and their livestock live interdependent lives, each affecting and needing the other.

While in camps near the town, nomads often hire villagers to watch over their flocks permitting them a period for conducting business in the bazaar, singing songs, drinking tea, smoking their water pipes, and perhaps hunting game.

Each nomad group represents a kinship unit. Usually there is a father and his sons or an extended unit with father, son, and adult grandsons. The camps have from five to twenty tents. The larger number are more typical near Aq Kupruk.

Related groups may split up during the summer for animal forage is sparse in the region, even at the height of the growing season. It may also be easier to coordinate smaller traveling groups and, more units may have more opportunities to trade. In the winter, however, closely related nomad groups come together for winter camp on the Turkistan Plains north of Aq Kupruk.

As in other nomadic cultures, the cyclic annual migrations of these *Pushtun* are from lower to higher altitudes following the seasonal climatic patterns. They spend winter in lowland valleys and summer in highland meadows, making an irregular orbit between winter and summer forage producing areas in the northern watershed area of the Hindu Kush Mountains.

Throughout the summer, thousands of *maldar* swing south from the dry Turkistan Plains moving along traditional routes in a predetermined order. The men care for the livestock which travel at higher elevations, foraging vegetation growing in the rich loess soil. At lower altitudes, other routes are used by those not encumbered with hungry herds of livestock. The trails lead to mountain highlands and then turn north along the Balkh River passing through Aq Kupruk. From there the *maldar* travel near Mazar-i-Sharif, Balkh, Shibarghan, and Maimana in the fall. They return again in the spring to repeat the annual travel pattern.

Large *Pushtun* family groups follow their herds. Gypsy groups pursue trades and provide seasonal labor. Groups claiming to be Arab and who are possibly *jat* trying to pass as respectable Arabs also travel the nomad routes as seasonal laborers. Their tents are white like those of Arabs, but are likely to be dilapidated. Groups of more probable Arab origin pass west of Aq Kupruk, camping near Sangcharak, a large bazaar center.

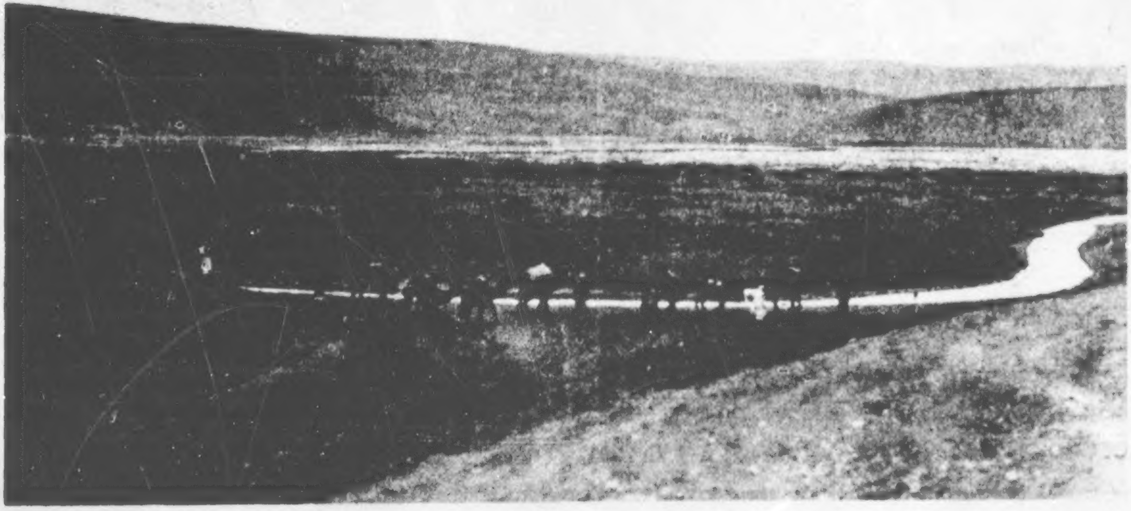
The *Shaikh Mohammadi*, also "white tent" people, function as holy men, selling amulets assuring good fortune and trade goods such as shoes and leggings from the Hazara leather craftsmen in the Hindu Kush Mountains. Their tents and their wares are characteristic of traders from the Arabian Peninsula from which they claim to have descended.

Socially, the various nomad groups have little to do with Aq Kupruk people. They sell items in the bazaar and purchase grains from shopkeepers. Their migration being annual, many nomads have developed business relationships with shopkeepers and these are continued from year to year. But the sedentary and the nomadic peoples are not close. They depend upon one another commercially but remain independent.

Spring, summer, and fall, nomads travel through and around Aq Kupruk, many stopping for a few days to trade and always to swap gossip and news. When the *maldar* depart in the fall and head north for winter camp on the Turkistan Plains, the townspeople of Aq Kupruk heave sighs of relief.

If for example, the nomads did not come to Aq Kupruk some year there would be a considerable effect upon trade and thus on the way of life there. In the bazaar there might be surpluses of some products, shortages of others. The nomads would

Nomads south of Aq Kupruk.



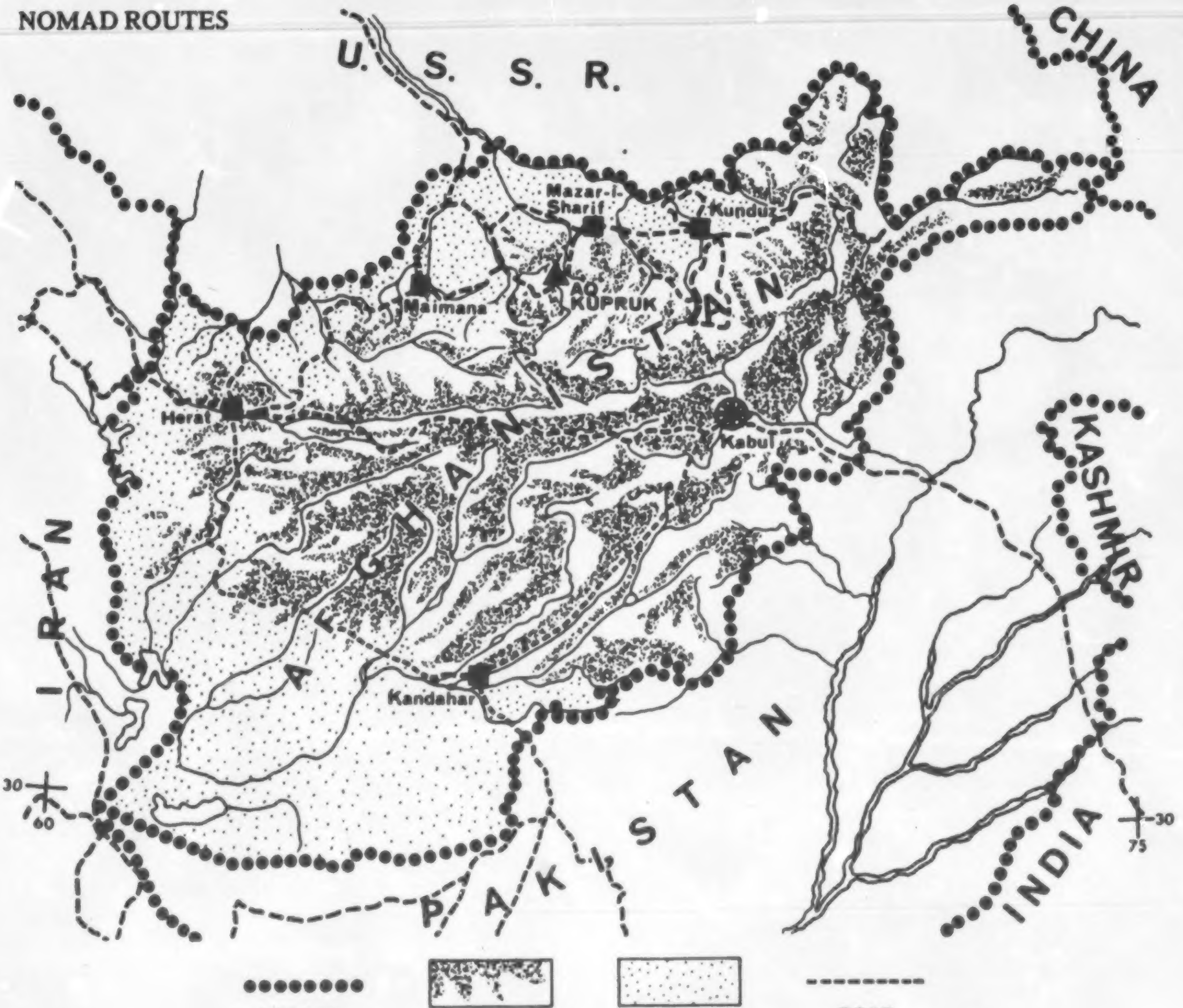
experience similar effects. And, if for some unique reason the nomads could not leave the plains in spring but had to stay there forever the things they know and the sizes of their herds and treasure boxes would be reduced very quickly. They would have to make adaptions in life style or they would not survive. The nomads are as essential a part of the life of townspeople as the farmers and shopkeepers of Aq Kupruk are to the nomads.

The nomads are less well known than the people who live all year in Aq Kupruk. Yet they are likely to have reservations similar to those of townspeople—but in reverse. Nomads too tend to be less fond of farmers and shopkeepers than their "own" people—other *maldar*.

SYMBIOSIS

While each human being, whether nomad or Aq Kupruk resident, is free to express the friction which occasionally occurs between the two groups, there is no institutionalized procedure in the Aq Kupruk region—outside the blood feud—for mediating disputes. And none is needed. Blood feuds are avoided by both groups. Each seems to realize that for all the differences, the two groups are symbiotically related. The settled residents of the town and the migratory nomads, their respective herds and animal produce, their social practices and economic functions, are complementary and interdependent.

NOMAD ROUTES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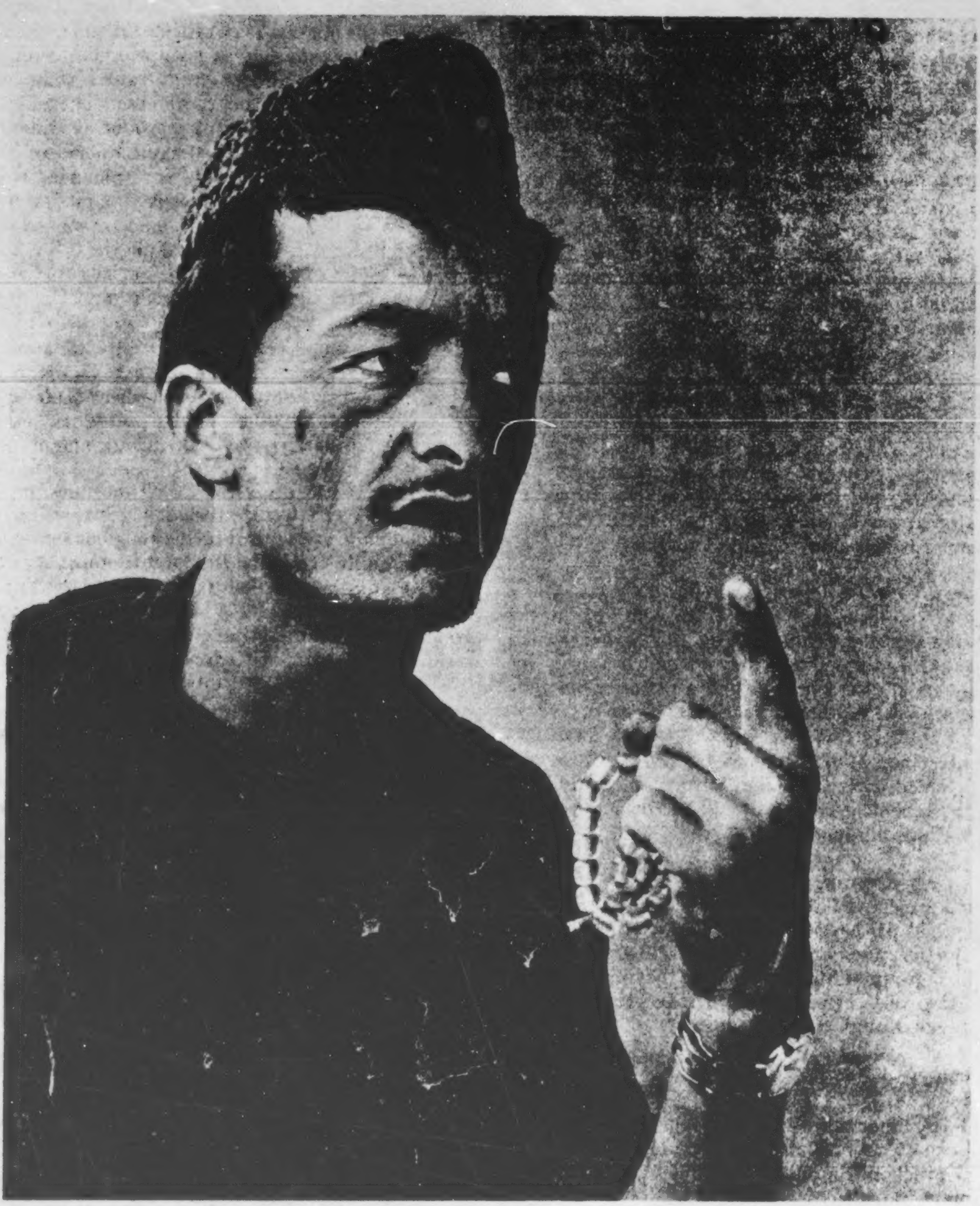


Prayer beads in hand, the Aq Kupruk school teacher makes a point during a conversation. His karakul, Persian lamb, hat is a prestige item. So are the wrist watch and writing pen in his pocket. Carrying prayer beads is a typical practice among Muslims.

The inhabitants of Aq Kupruk are Muslims. They have been disciples of the Prophet Mohammad since around the tenth century A.D. In that time the leader Mahmud, who lived in the town of Ghazni, sent his troops to spread Islam southeast, southwest, and northward across what is now Afghanistan.

The fervor of these Muslims encouraged the conversion of the Buddhists, Hindus, animists, and the few Zoroastrians and Christians to Islam. The people of the hills and valleys north of the Hindu Kush became Muslim and they continue to practice that faith more than nine hundred years later. Mahmud of Ghazni, that ancient town south of Kabul, was a man of no small influence.

Today, no one in Aq Kupruk is known to profess belief in any religion other than Islam. Yet traces of older beliefs can still be found. Certain marriage customs, occasional references to witchcraft, and the practice of erecting shrines to martyred saints, all suggest the retention of pre-Islamic beliefs and religious practices.

As do other religions, Islam has divisions. There are two major ones. About 90 per cent of Muslims in the world are followers of the *Sunna*, which means "tradition," and they are called *Sunni*. Not only are they the overwhelming majority but they are also the oldest group within Islam.

Most non-*Sunni* Muslims are *Shi'a*, whose sect originated early in Islamic history as a result of disagreement over who should be the successor to the Prophet Mohammad.

In Aq Kupruk, all are *Sunni* Muslims though *Shi'a* have lived there at times. In Afghanistan, about 80 per cent of the population is *Sunni*. The major exception are the Hazara, who are *Shi'a*. An ethnic group of Mongol descent, they predominate in the vast mountainous Hindu Kush region between Kabul and Aq Kupruk.

MOSQUES

Five times each day throughout Islam the religious leaders climb to the top of their mosques and proclaim the faith. Five times each day they remind the faithful of the five pillars of Islam, of one's obligations to God.

The mosques in Aq Kupruk are simple, undecorated structures of the same mud that is used in all the houses. They provide no minarets for the *mullah* to climb. In Aq Kupruk the *mullah* issue the calls to prayer from raised steps or platforms in the mosque compound. There are, however, large and beautiful mosques as near as Mazar-i-Sharif, the provincial capital north of Aq Kupruk. In Mazar the mosque is resplendent with turquoise and gold-colored mosaic domes. Islamic scholars study here and religious festivals are well attended by local inhabitants and pilgrims. It is believed by many Afghans to be the burial site of Ali, son-in-law and successor to the Prophet.

Aq Kupruk had seven mosques in 1962 and of these all were *Sunni*. The one *Shi'a* family had moved away, perhaps to a town where their sect had a mosque. Two of these mosques were considered to be large by Aq Kupruk standards.

By 1965, Aq Kupruk had eleven mosques, most led by *mullah* who earned their living as farmers at the same time as they served the religious needs of the community. Only the five largest mosques provide for full-time *mullah*. Not one has the large *mosaics* and *minarets* so often associated with Islamic architecture. Religious practices are taken seriously but expressed simply.

Id Gah is the major mosque in Aq Kupruk. From it the principal Friday sermons are delivered. *Madrasah* serves both as a mosque and as the mosque school, for Aq Kupruk has both parochial and public school programs: a mosque school and a government school. *Alakadari* is the downtown mosque near the governmental administrative center. *Turighar, Donai Julgah, Lahmi*, and *Sokhtan* are other mosques. Two small mosques have no names but are simply designated as "places to pray" (*masjid*).

Islam formally forbids the establishment of saints. It discourages emphasis upon personality cults and mosques, to provide an example, are not permitted to have images of human figures. There are no photographs or statues or paintings of humans either in mosques or on their grounds.

Calligraphy, the art of beautiful handwriting, is used as decor. Color is used extensively and so are geometric figures. But among the mosaics and sculptured walls and gardens of Islam, there are neither human nor animal symbols to be found.

Regardless, the people of Aq Kupruk continued to designate saints and create shrines. Whether these practices indicate the survival of pre-Islamic beliefs or not, no one today worries about it very much. There are five shrine sites, *ziarat*, in and near the town. No festivals honor these saints nor, for that matter, do the people seem to remember much about the particular miracles they performed.

At Ziarat-i-Chopan Khoja, for example, northeast of town on a hill, an inscribed marble tombstone is described by the elders as having been present in the days of their fathers. Apparently it disappeared many years ago. Of the saint honored by Ziarat-i-Chopan Khoja, no one in Aq Kupruk reports any memory of him or his miracle.

In town the Ziarat-i-Shaheed Baba is reported to house a saint who was martyred. Indeed, the term *Shaheed* means "martyred." Was there such a saint as Baba? Was he martyred? Is he buried at the shrine? Townspeople claim to know nothing of his life.

Near the area of shops in the bazaar are the Ziarat-i-Khosh Awleah and, appropriately, the Ziarat-i-Bazaar. Nothing is reported to be known about them. They are there. They are accepted. How the *ziarat* came to be is not discussed. It happened...in the times of the fathers....

Some rather exciting legends, however, are associated with the *Ziarat-i-Khoja Boland.* He is reported to have been a saintly soldier who always fired a rifle to warn Aq Kupruk inhabitants when danger threatened. Some will swear on the Koran (Islamic scripture or Bible) that they heard such a shot fired to warn of a cholera epidemic that killed four residents of Aq Kupruk during the summer of 1965. Swearing on the Koran is a very serious act. A few local skeptics did not accept this explanation, although it was sworn upon the scripture. Most are reported to have believed.

One of the major mosques in the modern section of Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. Mosques in Aq Kupruk are small, unadorned, mud constructs scarcely distinguishable among the houses. Aq Kupruk has eleven modest mosques where Muslim believers focus attention on God and man's duties five times each day.

Ziarat in and around Aq Kupruk can be expected to contain a hand of brass, a *panjah* which represents, according to local legends, either the hand of Mohammad's daughter Fatima, or the hand of Ali, Fatima's husband and the son-in-law of Mohammad. Bits of brightly colored cloth flutter from the *ziarat* whose visitors tie the cloth to the shrine as a reminder to the saint of their requests. Saints are requested to communicate the believers' need to Allah who it is hoped will grant a favor. Candles and pottery lamps can also be a part of a shrine's equipment, though these are not known to be used in Aq Kupruk. Bones of wild goats and sheep can sometimes be found as *ziarat* and grave decorations in Central Asia, but not in contemporary Aq Kupruk. Some old men of Aq Kupruk claim that many mountain goat horns once decorated local *ziarat* but the Hazara hill villagers stole these to place on shrines for their own saints. If this was the case, the people of Aq Kupruk apparently neither reclaimed the horns nor provided new ones.

One old man told of placing horns on the grave of his father so that it could be distinguished from the otherwise identical graves on three hillsides outside of town. In addition to identifying a particular grave, horns from a mountain goat symbolize admiration of strength and stamina. It could be believed that the vigor of an animal could be passed on to honored men for use in their afterlife. Just as a hunter may employ animal skins and horns in his dress to give him success, he may expect to secure good luck by placing the horns of the best animals killed on the graves of saints.

Islam also forbids witchcraft but, though little discussed, witches are believed to exist by some in Aq Kupruk. Old men tell of post-menopausal women turning into witches and using straw dolls in placing curses on individuals. They appear uncomfortable while discussing the subject, however, and one reported that the last witch was stoned to death "long ago" in the "days of our fathers." The part-time *mullah*, particularly those who cannot read, have admitted knowing rituals which could counter the evil spell of witches.

Amulets are bought by the faithful in Aq Kupruk from the nomadic *Shaikh Muhammadi* whose trading route passes nearby (ref. *Nomads*). These ornaments are guaranteed by the passing sellers, if not believed by the buyers, to protect against misfortune. They are claimed to be effective against all sorts of things from lead poisoning to assurance against the loss of a lover.

Although Islam has been dominant in the area of Aq Kupruk for at least seven centuries, many local legends relate to the times of *Al-Bud*, the idol, the Buddha. There are vast carvings of Buddha on stone cliffs and in caves in the geographical area which are believed to have been done in the sixth century, A.D.

Located at a crossing on the Balkh River, Aq Kupruk has been an important commercial and political center for centuries. A main route from northern to southern Central Asia passes through the site. On the ancient Silk Route between Chinese and Mediterranean centers of civilization, the town is a museum. Supporting a teahouse wall, for example, is one of six early Kushan column bases dating from the first century A.D. Serving as a table pedestal, another of these columns decorates still another teahouse. (picture, *Bazaar*) The Masjid-i-Alakadari, a local mosque, contains four ancient columns in its structure. The people of Aq Kupruk today know nothing of the Kushan Empire. They refer to the columns and the Buddhist paintings in nearby caves as simply "from before Islam," *pish-i-Islam* or *quabl-az-Islam*.

Near one cave, excavated in 1962 and 1965, a spectacular geological formation, a natural bridge was found. It is called the "Swing of the Daughter of the King," *Gauz-i-dokhtar-i-padishah*. For the story to be true she would have had to be a giant "girl." According to legend, her swing broke and she fell and was killed on the other side of the Balkh River. Her heartbroken father supposedly buried her on the spot and there is indeed a mound just opposite the natural bridge. One archaeologist found nothing but gravel in this mound, but local residents spread a rumor that he removed the "girl's" skeleton at night. Said one man of Aq Kupruk, "We do not really object: after all, she was not a Muslim."

WHERE ARE THE WOMEN AT AQ KUPRUK?

Women have subordinate status at Aq Kupruk. Afghan culture traditionally has been male oriented and male dominated.

War has been a frequent and important part of the long history of Afghanistan. Warfare has probably been one of the most significant factors until very recent times in determining the status of women. Thought to be physically inferior as warriors and hunters, women have been placed at a disadvantage by the high value placed upon martial skills by Afghan cultures.

Women have been kept in the home. There they tended the young, aged or ill. Most important they bore children to insure the survival of their particular group.

Since women themselves were commonly part of the spoils of war, they were jealously guarded against capture. Like the Spanish conquistadors who claimed the Americas "for God, Gold, and Glory," generations of Afghans have scaled their jagged mountains and crossed the dry hot plains for "Women, Gold, and Land"—*Zan, Zar,* and *Zamin.*

Male dominance in Afghan culture is displayed even in the female's most important role, that of childbearing. A wife has not satisfactorily fulfilled the obligation to her husband until she has produced male children. This is clearly illustrated, for example, in kinship designations. Among the several languages spoken in Aq Kupruk, there are separate terms for an unmarried girl, married woman with no children, married woman with a daughter, and married woman with a son. Only the last confers the full status of "woman." The birth of a son establishes the fertility of the female, announces the virility of the male, and promises the continuance of a male dominant, patrilineal family line. In an area like Aq Kupruk, where one of every three children dies before the age of two, responsibility for the survival of the family is no easy burden.

Uzbak women and children from a nearby village visit their relatives in Aq Kupruk. (Photograph by Josephine Powell).

Women do have some power and status even in so male dominant a culture. Daughters may bring both prestige and profit to the family. By carefully arranged marriages—negotiated by the mothers of the prospective bride and groom—women increase the wealth and influence of their own family and the family of the husband. Girls generally are married between the ages of sixteen and nineteen. Their husbands are generally older.

To assure the marriage potential of a girl, older women teach them the skills valued in Aq Kupruk women. The ability to spin wool into yarn or to tie carpets, for example, greatly enhances their value as wives.

Islamic tradition, interwoven with conventions of older, local tribal origins, influences the status of women. And although changes in women's status are occurring more rapidly today, these traditions for many centuries determined the role and the power of females. A chief means of control was the institution of *purdah*. *Purdah* required the segregation of women from all men except their immediate male relatives. As an extension of *purdah*, women were expected to wear a sacklike garment called a *burqa* whenever they appeared outside the home. The *burqa*, also called a *choudry*, covered the entire body with only an embroidered latticework slot permitting limited vision.

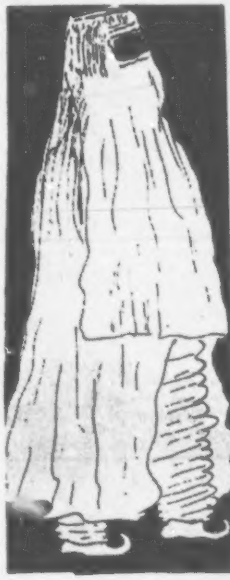
Islamic Law, *Shari'a*, does not support *purdah*. Neither does it prohibit the isolation of women. In fact, the Prophet Mohammad tried to improve the harsh lives of nomadic Arab women. The provisions he made for disposition of property, inheritance, marriage, and divorce were more liberal toward women than any tribal customs then in existence in Arabia. He even sought to prevent wealthy men from accumulating an extravagant number of wives. "Four wives," the Prophet decreed, should be the maximum. He also stipulated that each should receive equal treatment and rights. But custom in Afghanistan, as well as in other parts of the Islamic world, proved stronger than religious reforms. Muslims in Afghanistan have incorporated the practice of *purdah* into orthodox belief, adding to it a religious sanction.

The specific origins of *purdah* are lost in history. Some say that the isolation of women, like the veiling of their bodies in a *burqa*, was intended to protect them from the lustful eyes of evil men who might seduce or abduct them. Others argue that the *burqa* maintained the equality of women. Whatever the justification, the custom has survived so long because women have been viewed as economic assets. Wives cost money. Daughters were worth money. And marriages could bring favorable political alliances. These assets were to be protected as one would protect other valuable property.

Until recently, and in keeping with tribal practice, it was common for a young widow to be remarried to a member of her deceased husband's family—even a boy of five or six years. This practice served a multiple purpose. It kept the woman with her husband's family and provided protection for the children, who were part of the husband's "property."

Because the place of women today, among Afghans with a modernist orientation, is coming to be evaluated according to different standards, the enforced isolation of women is beginning to disappear. But customs die slowly in Aq Kupruk. Such customs can continue to be reinforced by dominant conservative influences.

In the capital city of Kabul, on August 25, 1959, female members of the Royal Family of Afghanistan appeared unveiled in public. Their faces were exposed for all to see. On the second day of an official celebration of Afghanistan's independence, an ancient tradition was broken by the Royal Family.



Thirty years earlier, King Amanullah had lost his throne soon after he decreed the equality of women, abolished the female obligation to cover their bodies with the *burqa*, and established coeducational schools. Yet between 1929 and 1959, Afghan thinking had apparently changed. In 1959, neither King Mohammad Zahir Shah nor his family were challenged because of the unveiling of the Royal women.

Since 1959, increasing numbers of Afghan women have been shedding the *burqa* and emerging from seclusion. Customs change as conditions change, but slowly, and not without resistance.

In April and May 1971 in Kabul, street demonstrators led by provincial Muslim religious leaders demanded compulsory return of *purdah*, punishment for women wearing miniskirts, and abolition of secular education for women. Fanatical demonstrators threw acid on women who wore Western-style clothing on the city streets. In October of the same year, a bicycle-riding *mullah* from Herat seriously wounded several women before he was captured. About 5,000 women demonstrated in front of government buildings, demanding that the attacker be turned over to them for appropriate punishment. The circumstances remind one of an earlier Westerner's observations on the potential violence of Afghan women. Rudyard Kipling, writing in 1892, admonished a young British soldier,

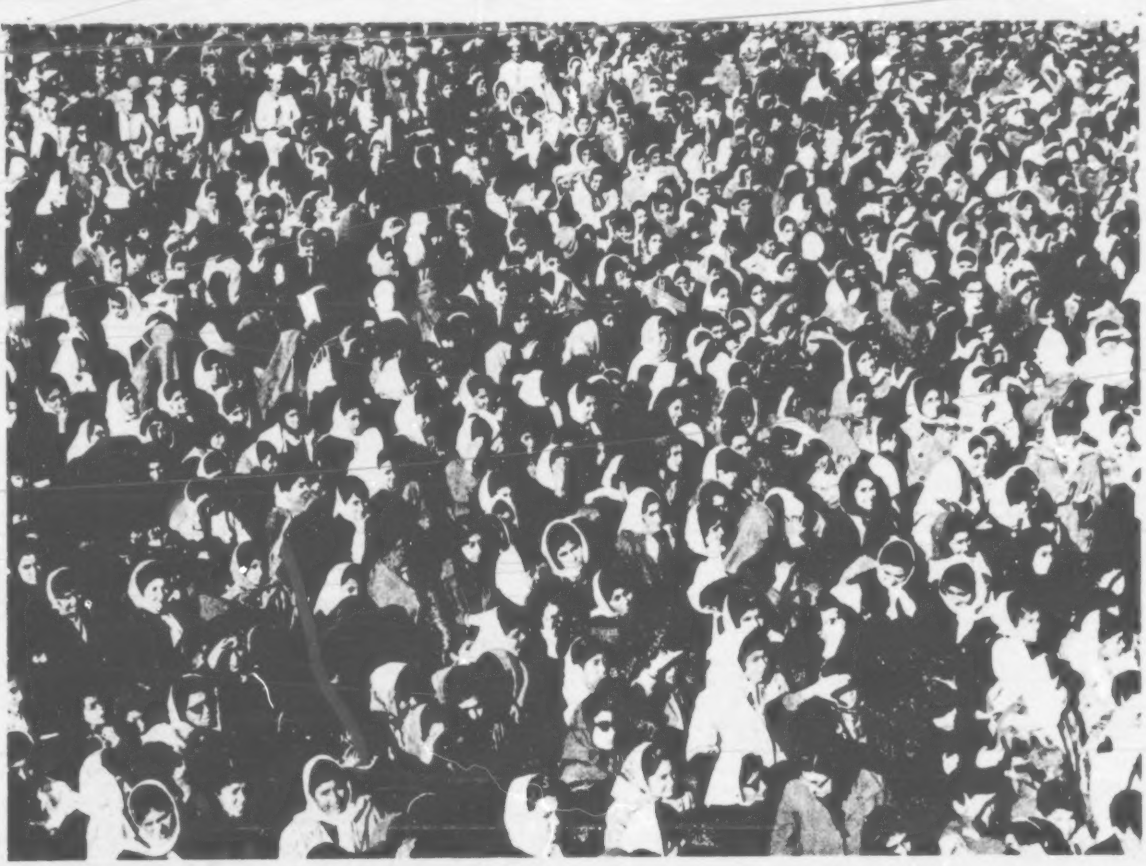
When you're wounded an' left on
  Afghanistan's plains,
An' the women come out to cut up your
  remains,
Just roll to your rifle an' blow out your brains,
An' go to your Gawd like a soldier!

The government did not release the prisoner.

RURAL WOMEN AND *PURDAH*

In towns and villages like Aq Kupruk as well as among nomadic women, certain rules of *purdah* have not been rigidly enforced. The physically cumbersome *burqa* has never been popular among rural and small town women whose daily lives were spent mostly in work. Instead, women wore head veils or shawls which could be drawn across the face if strangers approached.

Whether living in a village or traveling in a caravan, Aq Kupruk and other Afghan rural women help prepare grain, grind meal, bake bread, cook vegetables they have helped to cultivate, they occasionally cook meat, and haul water for household use. Usually a woman has helped tend the herds and certainly she has foraged for fuel. After the men have shorn the shaggy sheep, she has washed and carded the wool, then spun it into yarn. She



Women demonstrate in Kabul against the bicycle-riding *mullah* from Herat. He had injured several women by throwing acid in their faces. He objected to Afghan women wearing short dresses and no *burqa*. He desired a return to the traditional rules of *purdah*. Almost 5,000 women, some wearing *burqa*, gathered to protest and demand punishment of the *mullah*. (Photograph by Jimmy Bedford).

has produced cloth, blankets, rugs, or tent cloths on heavy looms. In addition, she may be skilled at tying carpets, one of the chief sources of cash income. All the while, she has had the major responsibility for care and maintenance of the household and several children.

Women in Aq Kupruk, unlike women in the cities of Kabul and Mazar-i-Sharif, do have one area which is entirely their own—the rooftop. It provides a place of amusement to spend leisure moments. On the rooftops women can relax. Neighbors and nearby activities can be observed. The number of cattle in neighboring compounds may be counted, or how much wool has been shorn, how much brush, moss, and animal dung has been prepared as fuel for the winter. She can observe the addition of a weaving loom or a new chimney in an adjoining compound. If her house is well-placed, she may also be the first villager to see the approach of a nomadic caravan—and have the pleasure of informing her husband.

Unlike the teahouse in the bazaar, which is for male relaxation only, the rooftop is a place for work as well as relaxation. Here grapes or other fruits are dried and fuel is stored. Grain storage bins may also share space with toddling children, those too young to follow after their fathers if they are males, or, if they are females, already being socialized to their roles as future mothers.

URBAN WOMEN AND *PURDAH*

City women have felt the full force of *purdah*, although they had other advantages which women in towns such as Aq Kupruk might have envied. In cities, women seldom left the home except to attend mosque prayers in a segregated enclosed gallery or balcony. In public, they were always clad

Tajik girls on a rooftop in Aq Kupruk.

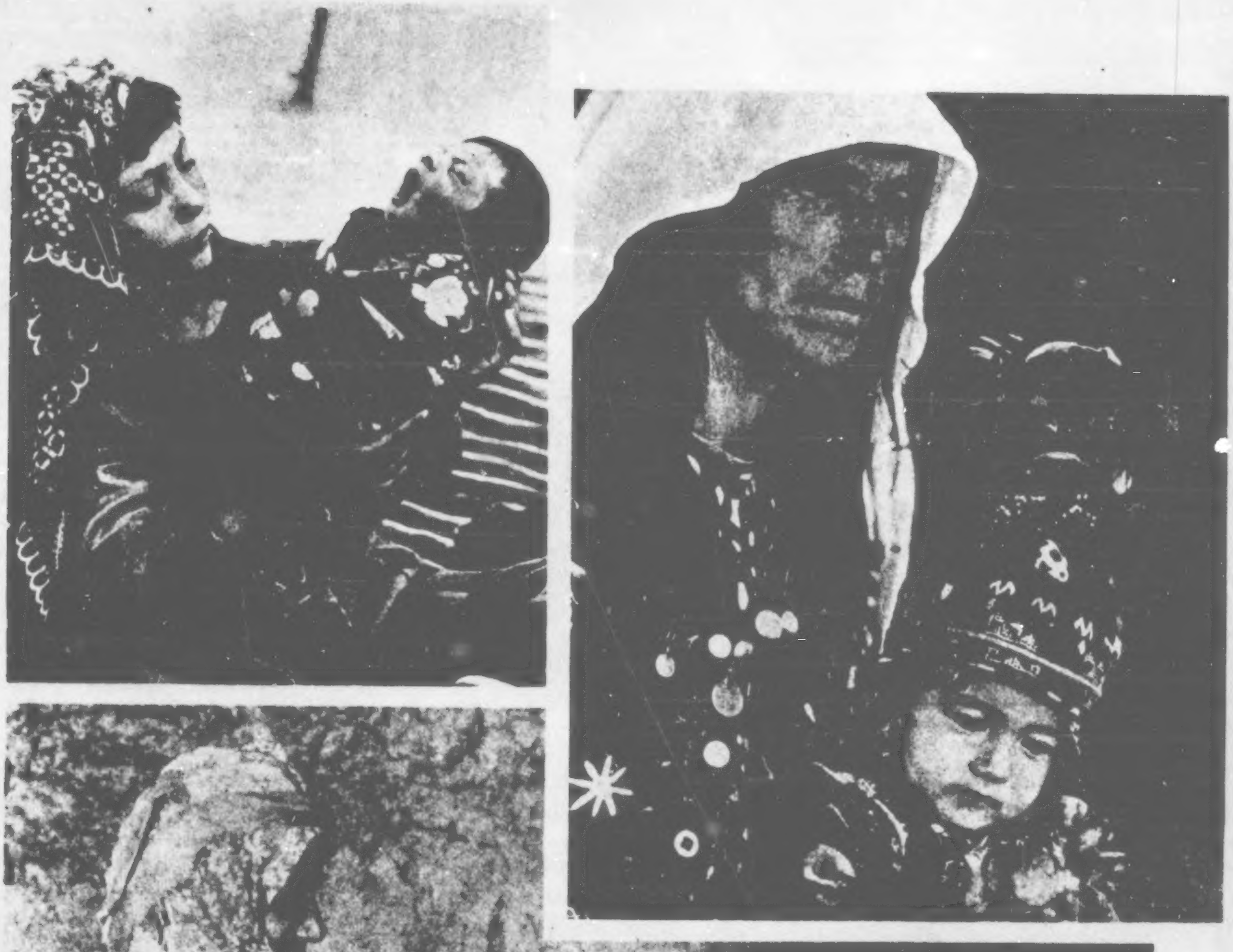
Nomad women, normally unveiled, adjust their headshawls to shield their faces from the stranger and his camera. (Photograph by Louis Dupree)

in a *burqa* and accompanied by a close relative or trusted servant. Never were they allowed to do the family's shopping or marketing. Houses were designed so that windows looked onto an interior courtyard. Theirs was a private world. Women were neither to see nor to be seen.

MARRIAGE

Family gatherings, such as the celebration of a wedding or birth of a child, provided occasions for women to mix socially with the opposite sex. At these celebrations a young girl often had her first glimpse of the male her mother had arranged for her to marry. Although negotiations between the two families might have been carried out over months, the couple usually had no opportunity even to speak to each other before the wedding. It is increasingly common today (especially in the cities, of course) for a young couple to meet while closely supervised, and get to know one another for a period preceding marriage. "Dating" on the Western pattern, and the notion of "romantic love," are still unusual in the cities, rarer still in Aq Kupruk and similar towns and villages.

A *Tajik* girl in Aq Kupruk wearing traditional jewelry and clothing and using a manual powered sewing machine. (Photograph by Josephine Powell).



While a *Tajik* woman prepares soup for lunch (below) a young *Tajik* girl in Aq Kupruk cares for her baby brother (above left). An *Uzbak* boy, sitting on his mother's lap and holding a piece of bread, appears unmindful of the fly in his right eye. He wears a feather-tufted embroidered cap with ear flaps that matches in color and elegance his mother's coin-decorated vest (above right). (Photographs by Josephine Powell)

In addition to a carefully arranged marriage, an Afghan family traditionally sought to assure a daughter's future well-being in other ways. One practice that remains but is losing popularity is the obligation of the groom's parents to provide a kind of "dowry," called *toyana* in Pashto, for the parents of the bride. Some of the "dowry" might be spent on a wedding feast. Another portion, however, was usually reserved as a kind of alimony in case of divorce, or inheritance if the husband died prematurely. The government today discourages both "dowries" and the practice of spending lavishly on wedding feasts. But Afghans across the country continue to look favorably upon arranged marriages.

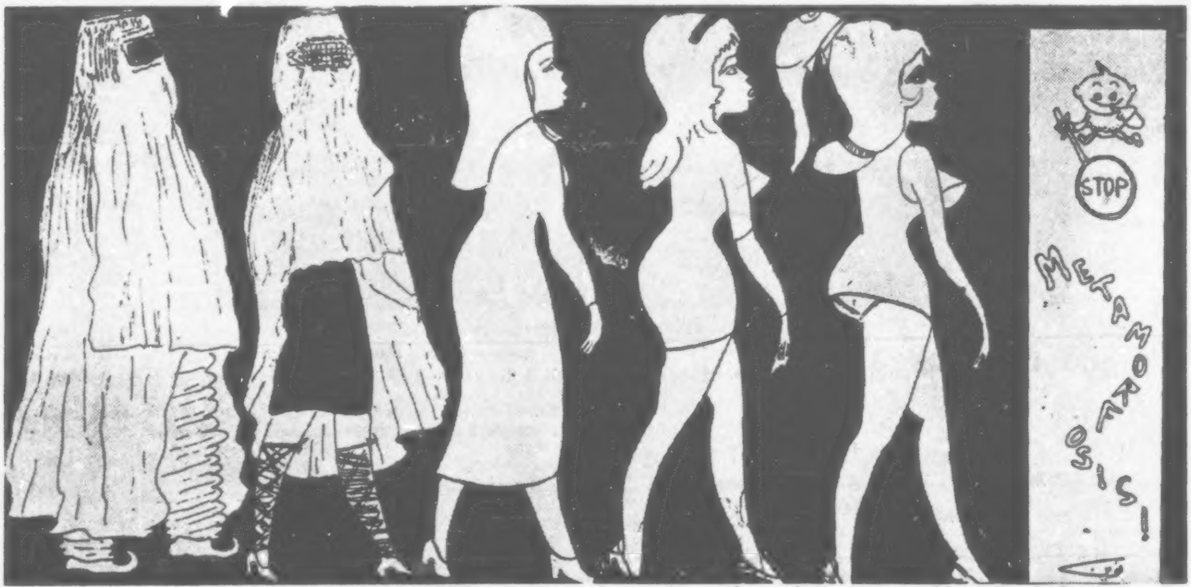
MODERN TRENDS

Purdah is a secular institution but it has been continued through many centuries with religious overtones. In modern times, *purdah* is undergoing further adaptations even in the process of disappearing.

In the past, the modesty and virtue associated with wearing the *burqa* made it seem desirable to many despite its physical inconvenience. Conservative religious leaders continue to argue in favor of the *burqa* on the basis of their view of decency. But today the *burqa* is assuming a symbolic value as a mark of social status that is making it attractive to a very different group and for new reasons.

In a curious reversal of values, the *burqa* that is being replaced by a modest scarf in the cities is often worn as a mark of affluence by women in provincial towns and villages like Aq Kupruk. Wearing a *burqa*, a woman could not easily do laundry or tend sheep. Such a garment is proof that a woman does not need to perform manual labor or work outside the house. The revival of the *burqa* is an example of the tendency in many cultures for villagers and townspeople to adopt obsolete or dying city customs in order to appear sophisticated.

Not all Afghan women are opposed to *purdah*. Many, mature women especially, are reluctant to leave the security and protection of their homes. They feel inadequate and shy when confronted with strangers. They dislike shopping and crowded streets. They are comfortable and secure with the old values. Their traditional role is clearly defined. Modern women, the traditionalists feel, command insufficient respect.



"Yesterday, today, tomorrow." An Afghan cartoonist's reaction to the evolutionary trend in women's dress. (From the *KABUL TIMES*, April 27, 1970).

A *Tajik* girl in Aq Kupruk. (Photograph by Josephine Powell).

Younger women often reject the entire concept of *purdah*, its physical limitations and its psychological implications. This is particularly true among urban women who have received Western-style education. They view *purdah*, and the wearing of the *burqa* as inconsistent with the future in which they plan to be teachers, doctors, airline stewardesses, nurses, midwives, and office workers.

Modernization is a nationally acknowledged objective. The government of Afghanistan supports women's aspirations for participating actively in the development and modernization of the country. These needs can change customs, because customs grow out of needs.

In that segment of modernizing Afghanistan where individual life and property are secure, the psychological and physical need for extreme protection of women, as represented by the institution of *purdah*, is becoming obsolete. Though they are not yet counted in the censuses conducted by the male village elders, the power and status of women in Aq Kupruk and in Afghanistan is increasing.

MAN AT AQ KUPRUK

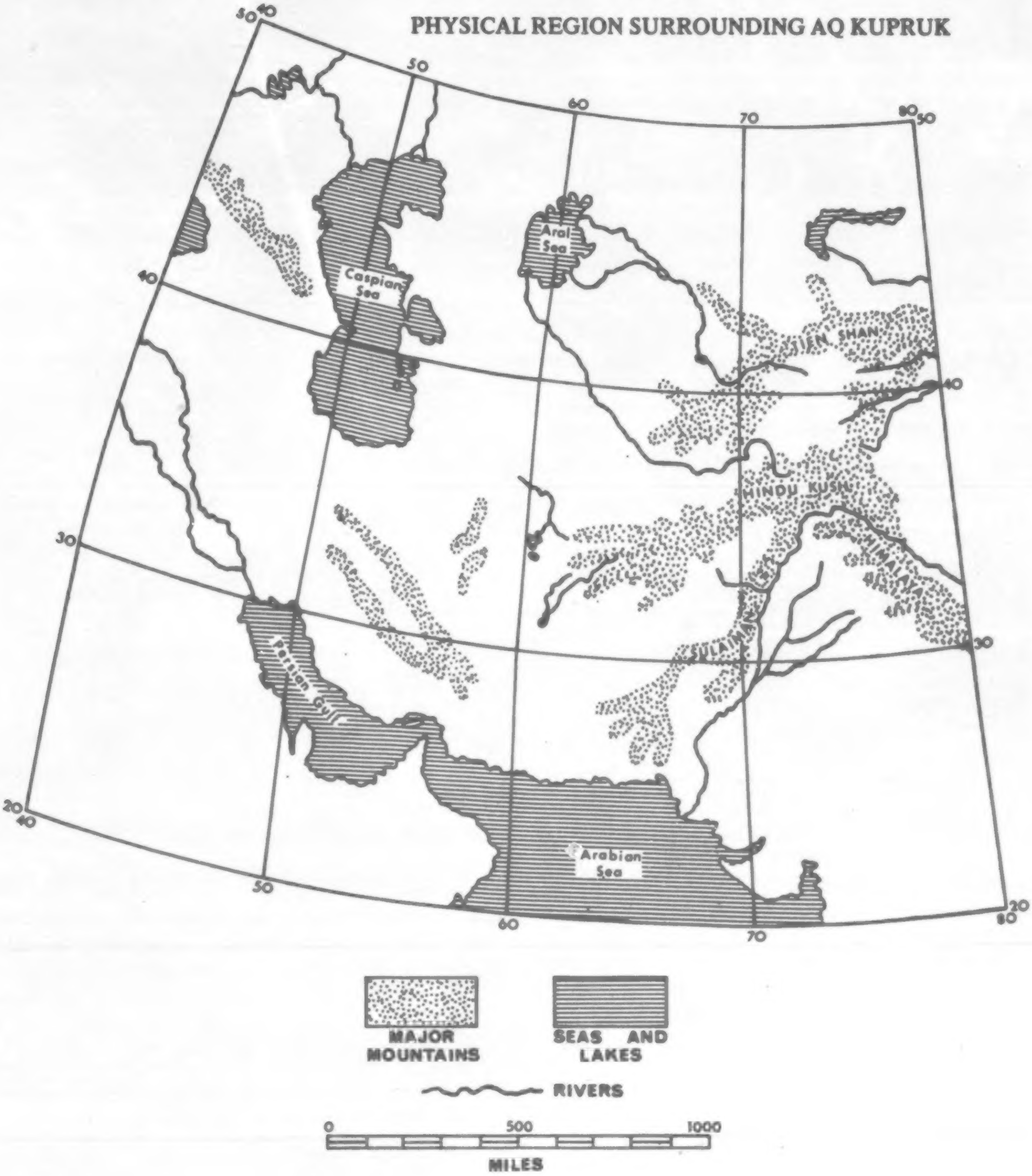
Another animal grubbing for roots, picking berries and nuts, and chasing other animals with stones and sticks—early man at Aq Kupruk. Living on edible wild plants and animals, pre-agricultural mankind survived. Protected by caves and then crude shelters these prehistoric people were almost totally dependent upon the things of nature; streams for water, sticks and rocks for tools, animals for clothing and food, and whatever vegetation happened to be available. Small wonder that animism, the belief that spirits reside in objects, developed to explain natural events. How better to explain sun and moon or drought and flood?

Just how humans first got to the site of Aq Kupruk is not at all clear. Possibly they walked there in a period of mild climate and lush vegetation. The geology of the area suggests that it has not always been so dry. Or, as an old white bearded Aq Kupruk man suggested, people may have been here "since the world began." What then might it have been like?

Between deserts on the north and west and mountains on the south and east, the Aq Kupruk region offered considerable protection and water and soil enough to support early agricultural practices. Garden crops could be grown near the river. Grains were developed out of the grasses that grew on the hillsides. And animals were domesticated; goats and sheep and cows and chickens, and dogs and cats, and horses.

MAP ONE AND OVERLAY

PHYSICAL REGION SURROUNDING AQ KUPRUK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30
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50
60
70
20
80
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
TIEN SHAN
HINDU KUSH
HIMALAYA
SULAIMAN
Persian Gulf
Arabian Sea
MAJOR MOUNTAINS
SEAS AND LAKES
RIVERS
0
500
1000
MILES

Techniques were learned for storing food. Drying preserved fruits, grains, and roots for winter use. Water could be stored in jars and animal skins. Herding maintained a reliable source of meat and wool. Prehistoric mankind survived. Stone Age man developed through a Bronze Age and then became Iron Age man.

Today some in Aq Kupruk own battery-powered transistor radios. In addition to the nomads passing through on camels and donkeys there are occasionally some "jeeps" and other automotive vehicles. Though without electricity or a stainless steel sewage decomposition plant, Aq Kupruk is in the twentieth century yet not entirely of it.

At a geographical crossroads, Aq Kupruk has experienced intermittent but constant change. Here visitors have long been passing through. Nomads, conquerors, priests of various sorts, and simple travelers. Some paused long enough to influence the existing culture and also to borrow from it.

Until recently the village population has been increasing. Aq Kupruk was first a campsite and then a village. Now it is a town becoming a village once again.

Some villagers have left their valley homes to experience life elsewhere and to bring back new ideas and tools; books, religion, guns, garments, and maybe the design of the unique wooden spade so useful for digging while barefooted in the gardens near the river.

China and Persia, Arabia and Mongolia each have left an imprint on the culture of Aq Kupruk. It is all of these and something else. It is Aq Kupruk and that is unique.

The earth itself and the air above have changed at Aq Kupruk. When the Aral Sea was larger there must have been more moisture. The present flood plain soil was once solid rock, high above in the mountainous Hindu Kush. It may have been warmer at times in the past and also it has been colder. The last remnants of an ice age are glaciers dotting the crests of the Hindu Kush. They are reminders of a time when the region was covered with ice—and of the warmer times that followed. But for as long as anyone now living can remember, the clear sky and hot dry summers, the windy and cold but sunny winters have been the pattern of climate around this riverside village between the mountains and deserts of Central Asia.

A PLACE CALLED AQ KUPRUK

Every place has a unique position on the globe. Aq Kupruk, for example, is located at 36° 05′ North Latitude, almost 3,000 air miles north of the Equator. In terms of east-west relationships, it is at 66° 55′ East Longitude or about 3,000 air miles east of the 0° Prime Meridian which goes through Greenwich near London, England. It is about the same distance also from Vladivostok, the eastern port city of the U.S.S.R., from Singapore near the Equator in the South China Sea, and from Dar es Salaam in Tanzania, East Africa.

From Mecca, the holy city of Islam on the Arabian peninsula, Aq Kupruk is about 1,800 air miles along a great circle route. Similarly distant but rarely in the minds of Aq Kupruk residents are Dacca in Bangladesh, Colombo in Ceylon, and Moscow in the U.S.S.R. to the northwest.

Aq Kupruk is a crossing on the Balkh River which flows north out of the Hindu Kush into the Amu Darya River which separates Afghanistan and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Aq Kupruk is a town built around a bridge over a river. In Uzbak-Turkic languages, "Aq Kupruk" means "White Bridge."

An inland place, Aq Kupruk is neither accessible by water routes, railroads, nor paved highways. A stopping place on caravan routes, Aq Kupruk is as it long has been.

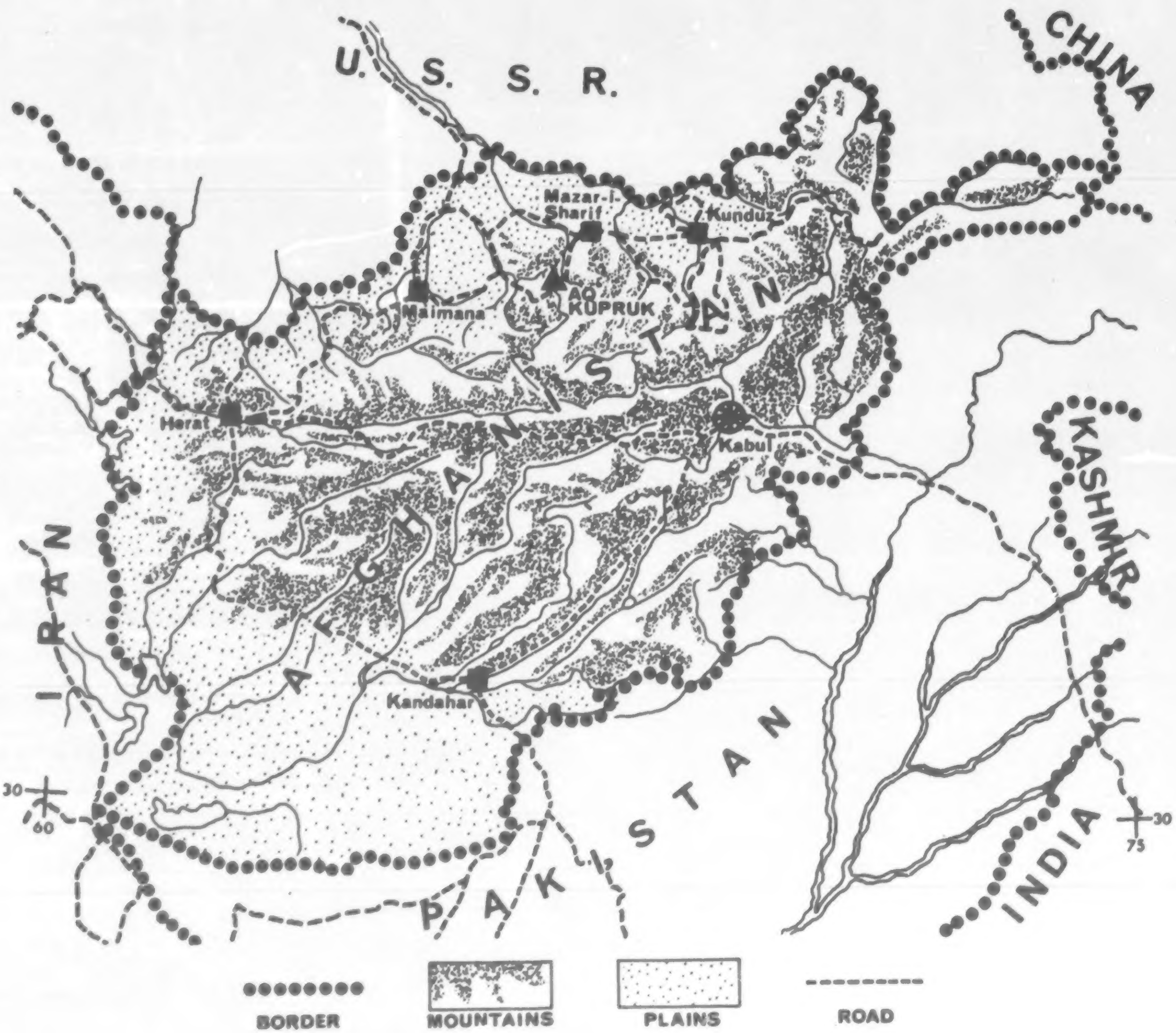
STABILIZING LIVING CONDITIONS

The ability to produce food predictably and to store surplus food for use in nonproductive seasons are two of the factors that allow humans to settle more or less permanently in an area. Because river valleys offered the most fertile land and reliable water supply, some early humans clustered there. Eventually they formed small communities, perhaps *all* of the members of an extended family, cooperating in producing food and providing shelter. In the area of Aq Kupruk, for example, the establishment of an irrigation system was one of the innovations that facilitated expansion of population and food supply. Community clusters formed villages, then towns: each was supported by an increasing number of skilled specialists—potters, weavers, dyers, blacksmiths, stone masons, and others.

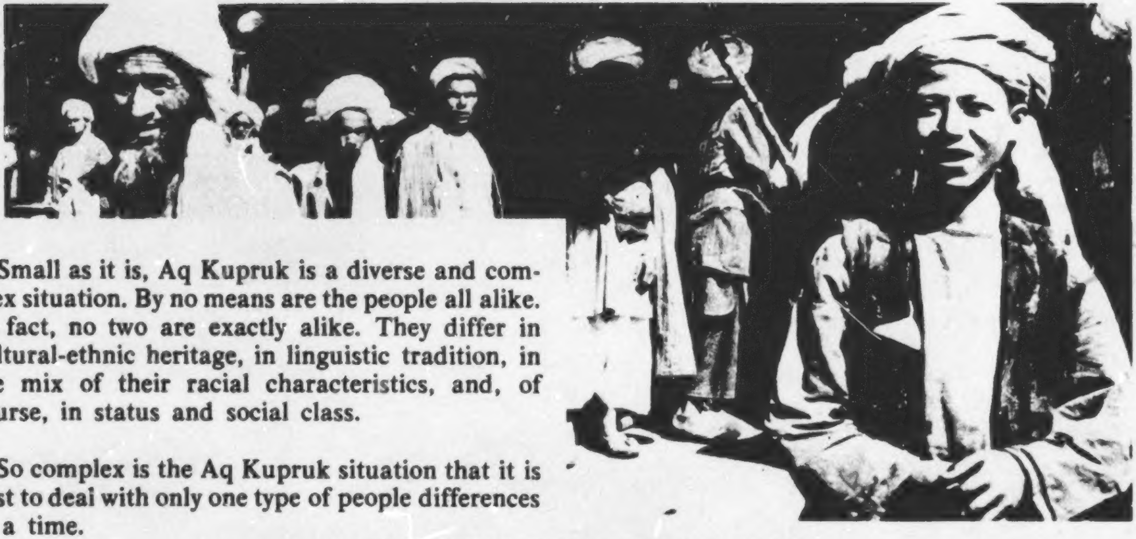
Not everyone in the area remained in permanent settlements. Some groups became or remained nomadic, making seasonal orbits in search of pasture and trade. Herders whose activities took place around the settled areas established a close relationship of mutual benefit with the technically specialized craftsmen. From time to time farmers and their families would build a house in the town, then walk some distance to tend crops, perhaps even staying away for several weeks during planting or harvesting activities.

As villages became towns, the larger ones developed into centers of commerce, communication, and governmental administration. A very few towns became cities. Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan, in the Hindu Kush and southeast of Aq Kupruk, is an example. Mazar-i-Sharif, north and down river from Aq Kupruk, as well as Herat, Maimana, Kunduz, and Kandahar are others. Now, as then, city dweller, villager, townsman, and nomad live interconnected and interdependent lives, each necessarily linked to the other, though few meet face to face.

MAP TWO


U. S. S. R.
CHINA
Mazar-i-Sharif
Kunduz
Maimana
AQ KUPRUK
Herat
Kabul
AFGHANISTAN
IRAN
KASHMIR
Kandahar
PAKISTAN
INDIA
30
60
30
75
BORDER
MOUNTAINS
PLAINS
ROAD
0
200
400
MILES

PEOPLE OF AQ KUPRUK



Small as it is, Aq Kupruk is a diverse and complex situation. By no means are the people all alike. In fact, no two are exactly alike. They differ in cultural-ethnic heritage, in linguistic tradition, in the mix of their racial characteristics, and, of course, in status and social class.

So complex is the Aq Kupruk situation that it is best to deal with only one type of people differences at a time.

CULTURAL-ETHNIC HERITAGE

These people came from many places at many times. Among them are cultural practices which probably originated east of here in China. Tea drinking, wherever it may have originated, could serve as one example of an imported cultural practice for tea does not grow on these dry hills.

Aq Kupruk people are Muslim. But before Islam many were Buddhist, as the carvings in nearby caves suggest. Buddhism came from India, where it originated as a form of Hinduism, and militant Brahmanism drove it out. Buddhism came and, like others before it, went, yet it is still a part of the cultural-ethnic heritage of Aq Kupruk.

Islam came and stayed. The *Sunni* or orthodox sect is dominant in Aq Kupruk. The *Shi'a* sect, which is of more recent origin and dominant in other parts of the Muslim world, also has left traces of influence in Aq Kupruk. The *Sunni* itself has undergone changes; Muslim mystics known as *Sufis* have come and gone and come again, teaching new ways of thinking about God. Islam has many facets. The cultural-ethnic heritage of Aq Kupruk has most of them in varying measure.

Some people sometimes refer to themselves as descendants of the armies of Alexander the Great. Likewise, Genghis Khan's armies passed through this area and one can find evidence of both Greek and Mongolian influences. In fact, there is evidence of almost every culture which surrounds or has surrounded this valley town.

Aq Kupruk is very near the border which separates Afghanistan from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. There is little talk an outsider can hear about "Russians" but Aq Kupruk *Uzbak* are of the same ancestry as those in Soviet Uzbakistan not a hundred miles away.

Iran, once the center of the larger Persian Empires, is also not so very far away and is linked historically and commercially to northern Afghanistan. Wool from Aq Kupruk finds its way into rugs manufactured in the city of Herat to the west. Herat is in Afghanistan but it was a Persian rug making center.

Arabs too have come and gone and some remain among the nomads who visit Aq Kupruk. They brought Islam and a distinctive tent design. There are also *Turkish* people, and there are *Uzbak* and *Turkoman* and *Kirgiz*. A complex situation, to say the least. The cultural-ethnic heritage of Aq Kupruk is almost incredible; more complicated than the design of a dyed, tied, knotted, and woven oriental rug. An ancient culture rich in tradition. A small town in a vast area—a cultural-ethnic crossroads.

LINGUISTIC TRADITION

Languages are parts of cultural-ethnic traditions. They are artifacts of the past experience of a people. Among the people of Aq Kupruk, *Turkic* languages may have been the earliest. Most speak several languages now, a *Tajiki-Uzbaki* mixture being the most common. Uzbaki is also spoken and *Mongolian* can be heard among some old men who live south of Aq Kupruk.

Tajiki is a form of *Persian.* It, along with *Uzbaki, Mongolian, Turkic*, and even a bit of *Arabic*, are in the Aq Kupruk linguistic tradition. Perhaps a linguist could even find some *Urdu* words more common in Pakistan. The pattern is very complicated, confusing to an observer, but perfectly clear and useful to Aq Kupruk. The mixture of languages serves their daily purposes and communication goes on all the time. No matter that very few in Aq Kupruk can write or read. Of what importance is it, after all, where these words come from? Communication goes on.

افغانستان

The word above is "Afghanistan" written in *Pashto.*

MIXED RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS

While in a scientific sense there are no "races" among human beings, there are certainly differences among people. And many of these differences are visible among the people of Aq Kupruk. Their faces, for example, are Central Asian. But this only means that some have features expected in Northeastern Asia and others would appear to be at home in Southwest Asia and the Middle East. Each is Aq Kupruk and that is sufficient. Aq Kupruk is more than one thing and certainly more than one type of face. It is first of all human and secondly Asian. It is Afghanistan and North Afghanistan at that.

Determining whose ancestors came from where is difficult in so ancient a culture. For although it maintains strong oral traditions, written records are lacking. The many ways of classifying people, moreover, are designed to serve different purposes and are often confusing. While there are scientifically reliable techniques for determining genetic ancestry—through the study of blood types, hair types, ear wax types, and eye types—such findings are not always in agreement with a people's own genealogical beliefs.

Perhaps the best records are those remnants of past cultures, the artifacts which remain in the earth as indicators of peoples who once lived. The artifacts in and around Aq Kupruk suggest a multicultural, multi-ethnic situation over a long period of time. There seems no doubt, whichever evidence is considered, that the people of Aq Kupruk have a diverse and rich ethnic heritage. They are at a genetic, as well as cultural, geographic, and historical crossroads.

A study of photographs of Aq Kupruk males can indicate the diversity of racial features in this mixed population. Photographs of females would show the same characteristics but these are not as readily available to outside observers of this culture.

STATUS

The *Sayyid* and the *Khoja* share high status in Aq Kupruk, they are looked up to and respected. Both claim descent from Arab tribes of South Arabia, the birthplace of the Prophet Mohammad and the cradle of Islam. Their ancestors, they believe, came first from Arabia to Bokhara in Russian Turkestan, then to Aq Kupruk. Neither group speaks Arabic and their physical features strongly suggest a Central Asian origin. *Faces of Aq Kupruk* and other *Fieldstaff Perspectives* provide photographs. These can be useful when studying the ethnic backgrounds of Aq Kupruk peoples. It is most likely that both *Sayyid* and *Khoja* are in fact *Tajik* whose forefathers changed their genealogy in order to enhance their prestige among other Muslims.

The *Tajik* and *Uzbak* of Afghanistan probably also came from Central Asia. The ancestors of every human inhabitant may have come originally from somewhere else. All the claims or none of the claims could be true. The important thing is what people believe and how they use that belief to support their status.

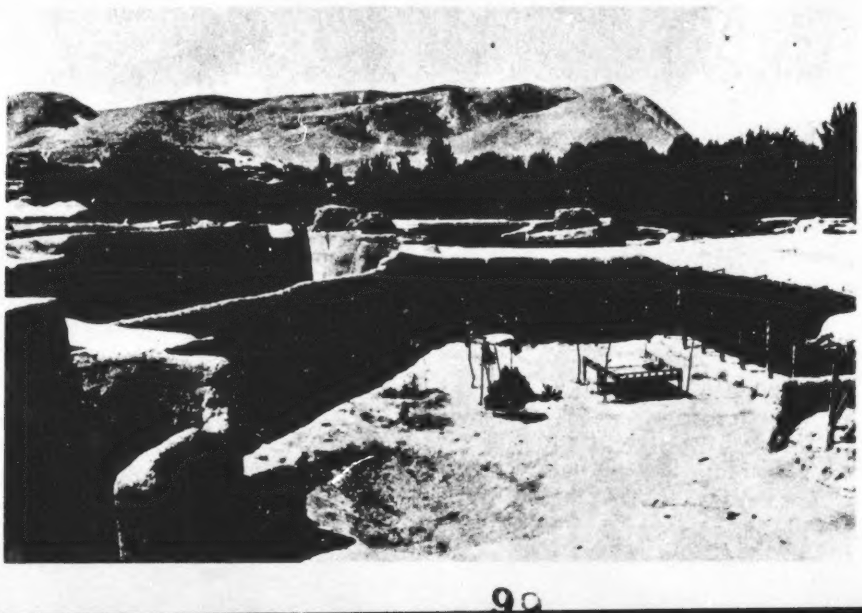
Ethnic identity—*Sayyid, Khoja, Tajik, Uzbak*—is but one step above individual and family identity. Identification with a town or region, Aq Kupruk or Balkh Province, is the next highest level of abstract loyalty. National identity is far more complex and its development is still a very real problem in Afghanistan. One family of *Safi Pushtun*, for example, have lived in Aq Kupruk. They had been forcibly removed from a settlement south of the Hindu Kush in 1949 following an unsuccessful revolt against the government. *Safi Pushtun* were resettled in large numbers across northern Afghanistan. Only one family was sent to Aq Kupruk.

In Aq Kupruk the *Safi Pushtun* family are referred to as *Afghans* though the government has worked to persuade all ethnic groups that they are all *Afghans* first. In Aq Kupruk people refer to themselves first as *Sayyid* and *Khoja*, as *Uzbak, Tajik*, and *Hazara*. But the *Safi Pushtun* are called *Afghans* and it is not complimentary. It is illustrative of the separation Aq Kupruk feels from the nation of Afghanistan and from the *Pushtun* people who predominate south of the Hindu Kush.

Both the *Pushtun* and the non-*Pushtun* prefer their old tribal names while at home. Elsewhere, in visits to other places such as Sholgara, the district administrative center, the provincial capital of Mazar-i-Sharif, or to Kabul, they may refer to themselves as *Afghans* as seems appropriate. They might thereby expect more favorable treatment from government bureaucrats—to secure permission to establish a small factory, for example—if they appear to support the government's attempt to create an all-Afghan identity. So labels are used differently at home in Aq Kupruk and elsewhere. One puts one's best face forward.

The separate cultural-ethnic groups live in different sections of the town. For the most part, marriage is among young people of the same cultural-ethnic heritage. This is simply to say that even in so small a town, differences are perceived and there are efforts to "continue the line" among these genealogically sensitive people. To outsiders, Aq Kupruk people may seem to act and look alike. In Aq Kupruk, such a notion would seem absurd.

A *Tajik* compound: two rope beds are in the open area, living quarters and storage areas are around the sides. Fuel is stacked on the rooftops. It is an oily bush called *busa*. For an Aq Kupruk family, this is home.



SOCIAL ORGANIZATION
CLANS AND FAMILIES

The clans into which related nomads are organized and the families around which Aq Kupruk lives are oriented have oral records of the past. But these are complicated and demand good memories. If a man's immediate ancestors had two wives or more (he is permitted by Islam to have four but to have more than one is unusual) the records of relationships of cousin to cousin are even more complicated. Imagine the difficulty of describing one's relationship to one's father's fourth wife's younger brother.

The people of Aq Kupruk trace their descent through clansmen prominent in recent history. Most attempt to link their genealogies to the Prophet Mohammad either through his daughter Fatima or her husband, Ali, Mohammad's nephew and son-in-law. *Khoja* claim as an ancestor Abu Bakr, the first secular and religious head of a Muslim state. He was the first *Caliph* of Islam.

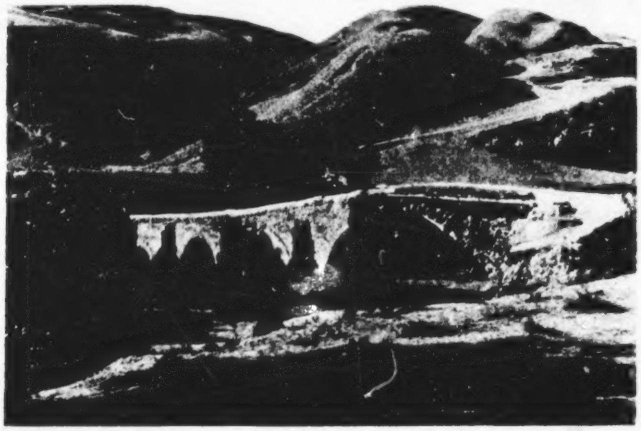
Exactly how many people of what age, sex, and ethnic heritage live in and near Aq Kupruk is apparently not of particular interest either to the village elders or other townspeople. The National Government of Afghanistan, however, would probably like to have such information. Without it, the Census Bureau in Kabul can only make estimates. Plans for schools, hospitals, roads, irrigation projects, and tax collections are difficult to make without accurate census data. The census data from Aq Kupruk are difficult to interpret.

A census by the town elders reported in 1965 that *Tajik* owned two hundred houses, *Sayyid* and *Khoja* owned fifty houses, and there was one extended family of *Afghans,* who were really *Safi-Pushtun*. The *Pushtun* later moved away. *Hazara* live in the surrounding hills and there are also some *Moghul*. Altogether about fifteen hundred males were reported to be living near the town in 1965. The population is believed to have declined since then. As for women, they are not reported, neither as wives nor daughters, in the town elders' census.

The elders reported no population change in Aq Kupruk between 1959 and 1965. Yet the many abandoned and crumbling houses suggest that some in Aq Kupruk have moved. Whether more have died than have been born is not known to have been reported. One frequent observer who has visited the village in the 1950s and 1960s reports that the town population is "probably decreasing."

Sholgara, the district center, and Mazar-i-Sharif, the capital of Balkh Province, have both expanded in population. The evidence suggests that Aq Kupruk is slowly losing population because of the attraction of the larger towns rather than because of disease, high death rate, or a decrease in the birthrate.

Census data in Afghanistan are such that these speculations are only hypotheses about what is happening. What is really happening is known in detail only to the people of Aq Kupruk.



WHO WINS THE RACE?

The early morning sun appeared on the horizon. They had traveled all night to take advantage of the coolness. Aq Kupruk would be visible from the next high point on the trail. For as many years as anyone could remember, these nomads always camped at Aq Kupruk. Once in the spring and again in the fall, Aq Kupruk was a resting place for these "people who move to find pasture."

Camp was set up outside of town. Women unsaddled the camels and donkeys, pitched tents, and began cooking for the day. Men and boys divided the herds to prevent overgrazing. Then they returned to camp, unsaddled the horses, and began to eat the first meal of the day.

Soon the townspeople would open the bazaar. And usually some farmers could be expected to bring wheat and vegetables to the camp. They would barter for lambs, calves, and kids and yoghurt and fresh milk. A visit to Aq Kupruk always brought "good luck," old Ali told his grandsons. "Aq Kupruk is good," he said.

The young men were suspicious of the grandfather's judgment. Hadn't one of them broken a leg when his horse fell here last year? And hadn't the merchants rudely closed the bazaar early, before they'd finished browsing? Townspeople seemed to be afraid of these young nomads. In all their visits to Aq Kupruk, they had never shared a meal with a townsman. Nor were the children permitted to play together. If Aq Kupruk is so "good," they were thinking, then their horses must be very fast indeed. "Ha," said Ahmad, let's challenge them to a race! Our horses against theirs!"

1. Are sufficient *facts* provided to determine whether nomads or townsmen are most likely to win the race? Explain.

2. Are your *sympathies* with the nomads or townspeople on the basis of this one story? Explain.

3. Can you explain the different *perspectives* or viewpoints illustrated in this story? How do the young nomad's *perspectives* differ from the old nomad's *perspective* of Aq Kupruk? Are these *perspectives* reasonable?

4. In their places would your *perspective* be the same?

GENERALIZING ABOUT AQ KUPRUK

"No two situations or places are alike" argue some. Others claim that "human sameness is present in every situation and any particular place can represent others which are essentially the same." It's a basic problem facing anyone studying peoples and places. In *culture study* it is important to be aware of the differences between *facts, values, concepts,* and *generalizations.* And of these, *generalizing* deserves particular attention.

One *generalizes* by moving from observations of a few specific examples to conclusions which are universally applicable. A photograph of a one-humped camel in Aq Kupruk, for example, may lead some to *generalize* that only one-humped camels exist in Aq Kupruk. A visit to see would support the *generalization.* But if one leaped from the photo to *generalizing* that there are no two-humped camels in Afghanistan, it would be going too far. Nor would it be supportable to claim there are no two-humped camels in Asia or the world. Generalizations are like "knife-edged boomerangs." They can come back and cut the "wild throwers."

Generalizations depend—or they certainly should depend—upon facts, the more the better. Generalizations become facts if they can be demonstrated to be true, beyond all reasonable doubt. But most of the time, generalizations are statements which vary from largely true to partially true and even completely untrue. Generalizations are attempts to make sense on a large scale. One ought to try to generalize often, collecting as many facts as possible to support one's assertion.

It is a *fact* that Aq Kupruk exists. Change too is a *fact* among the people of Aq Kupruk. It is generalizing, however, to describe Aq Kupruk as typical either of Central Asia or Afghanistan. For its size, given its location with regard to altitude, water supply, soil composition, population density, and climate, Aq Kupruk *seems a typical human community based on subsistence agriculture.* That is a generalization. To say it is a wholesome pleasant place to live is to make a *value judgment.* To say that it is the best place on earth would be making a *value claim.*

Regardless of what is said about it, Aq Kupruk presents a fascinating example of one human culture, its adaptations to geography, climate, and surrounding cultures. Aq Kupruk is a rich tapestry for the student of culture: It is old, diverse, changing—both dying and transforming. It is small enough to be comprehendible.

Students of culture will have to decide for themselves how much Aq Kupruk is like their own hometown. For big city dwellers it is likely to seem a very small place indeed. It should be remembered that thousands upon thousands of similarly small towns dot the earth. And those in rapidly growing towns may view Aq Kupruk as rather "static" (if they are a bit negative) or "stable" (if they are a bit positive). Many in America live in Aq Kupruk-sized towns and will be able to make direct comparisons about events there and events in their own hometown.

It is dangerous to generalize about Islamic beliefs if one has knowledge only of Muslims at Aq Kupruk. To *compare* religious practices among people at Aq Kupruk with practices in one's own culture may be the best approach.

Sunni and *Shi'a*, the major divisions in Islam, relate to each other much the same as do Roman Catholicism and Protestantism and Greek Orthodoxy in Christianity. The split is very old and within each branch there have developed doctrinal differences, such as those among Baptists, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists—all Protestants. What is important is that each *is* Islam, every believer feels himself or herself equally a Muslim.

Differences in detail may or may not be significant. Typically in the Islamic world, prayers are announced by a *muezzin* from a tower or minaret which is a part of the mosque especially constructed for that purpose. No mosque in Aq Kupruk has a tower: even the largest of the mosques is a simple, mud-brick structure, architecturally undistinguished from the surrounding shops and residences. But every day prayers are announced in the mosques of Aq Kupruk just as in the fabled Blue Mosque at Mazar-i-Sharif, or in the many mosques of Mecca, or Cairo, or Rabat, Djakarta, or Kuala Lumpur.

Yet it is important to generalize, first tentatively. Tentative generalizations can be tested, evaluated, and kept among one's treasures—or discarded.

Thinking demands caution in using *facts* also. *Facts* alone are not enough and they change with time. *Culture study* is thinking carefully about facts, comparing facts, evaluating facts, then making cautious generalizations based on facts.

"Studying how things are related and interrelated" is another way of saying it. One may also say that "Culture study is a way of focussing light on the human condition. Looking at other cultures such as Aq Kupruk," this argument goes, "is a way of looking at others in order to see ourselves more clearly."

HABIB'S DECISION

Habib placed the white turban firmly on his head and prepared to leave his shop and go out into the dusty streets of Aq Kupruk. His head was spinning from the long, sleepless hours spent resolving the problem facing him. He found it hard to believe that only yesterday an official of AFGA, the national organization working for family planning in Afghanistan, asked for his help. Since Habib was the recognized leader of the Tajik in Aq Kupruk, the AFGA official said, he was the logical choice to speak in support of the program.

As he stepped out into the street, Habib thought of the effect of his decision on his wife, whose health had been failing over the years. She had given birth to four healthy daughters and two sons who had died at birth. He thought of how his Aq Kupruk townspeople would react and if it would affect his business. He reflected a moment on the arguments made by the AFGA official for the need of family planning in Afghanistan. They claimed that family planning had long been practiced but that now new knowledge and new techniques are available.

He wondered if it would be possible to maintain the position of leadership in Aq Kupruk, which he valued so highly. But he was convinced that his decision was the only proper choice. He was committed, regardless of the consequences.

QUESTIONS TO BE CONSIDERED

1. What facts did Habib have to consider in making his decision?
2. What cultural factors would influence his interpretation of these facts?
3. What reaction could Habib expect from the following Aq Kupruk people if his decision is to speak in support of family planning: Muslims who have made the *hajj*; typical men in the town; typical women in the town; his wife; leaders of the Khoja, Uzbak, and Tajik communities; the *mullah*; the school teacher; the town elders; nomads?
4. What reaction could Habib expect from these same people if his decision is to speak against family planning?
5. What other options are open to Habib?
6. If you were Habib what would you do and why? In Aq Kupruk? In Kabul? In your own hometown?

HAZARA COME TO BARTER

As Ali entered the teahouse his attention was attracted by loud laughter from a group of his fellow merchant friends gathered in the far corner. This was their usual noontime gathering place. They sip tea and discuss the affairs of the day. As Ali slipped into a vacant seat, he quickly understood the subject of the laughter. Mohammad, his friend and the operator of the shop next to Ali's own tinshop, was telling everyone how he had taken advantage of the Hazara who came down from the hills with grain and vegetables to trade.

Ali was surprised to see his Tajik friends howling with glee as Mohammad told how, in exchange for good grain and vegetables, he had given an Hazara farmer a kerosene lantern that he had been unable to keep burning for more than one hour at a time. Plus he had given the farmer a container of fuel mixed with an equal amount of water.

Mohammad paused to catch his breath. He saw Ali and called to him, "As this ignorant Hazara left my shop he said that he needed to visit a tinshop this afternoon. I gave him your name, Ali. So now my good friend can also profit from this simpleton. Tell us, Ali, how will you treat your customer?" "Yes, Ali," said his friend Habez, the shoe repairer, over the laughter, "tell us what you will do!" Ali sat back in his chair and looked into the smiling, eager faces of his friends as they anxiously leaned forward to hear his reply.

QUESTIONS TO BE CONSIDERED

1. Why do you think Mohammad was willing to take advantage of the Hazara?
2. What leads you to think that other merchants approved of Mohammad's action?
3. Is this sort of action common among merchants in Aq Kupruk? In your town?
4. Do you think that it is acceptable for a merchant to take advantage of a customer?
5. How many options does Ali have in responding to his friend's question?
6. If you were Ali, how would you answer the friend's question?
7. What do you think the consequences of your decision would be?
8. Can you predict any possible consequences being felt by Mohammad?
9. Could you behave as Mohammad did?
10. If you were the Hazara what would you do?
11. Do you think this imaginary situation could really happen in Aq Kupruk?

INTERDEPENDENCY

A CONCEPT TO DEVELOP

Interdependency is a major theme throughout the AQ KUPRUK materials. In Aq Kupruk culture, several groups of peoples are interdependent. Nomads, farmers, and shopkeepers depend on each other for the essentials of life. Each provides services and goods to meet the needs of the other.

Further, Aq Kupruk families are interdependent. Everyone has a clearly defined and important role. Men head these families. Boys accompany their fathers and learn the male role through observation and practice. Males represent the family in trading, in religious matters, in caring for the animals and crops, and in conflicts between families. Women spend most of their time at home--in or near the family compound. Girls learn the female role by living it. Child-bearing and rearing, cooking, sewing, weaving, and gathering fuel are among their responsibilities. The wisdom of elders, male and female, is sought when decisions are to be made. Each person's role is valuable to the entire family--interdependence is necessary.

The community of Aq Kupruk is interdependent. Not only are farmers, shopkeepers, and nomads linked in exchanges of goods and services. Religion too is a dominant force in lives of people. There are religious days and the daily religious duties of Muslims. All these affect family life, farming practices and bazaar activities. But more importantly, lifetime goals are linked with the Islamic belief system. The high value placed on a pilgrimage to Mecca, for instance, requires savings, and perhaps the sale of land. Human life and religion are interdependent among the Aq Kupruk.

Interdependency is only one of the concepts which AQ KUPRUK materials can help develop. Other important concepts include: evidence, inquiry, valuing, belief, and proof; role, status, structure, dominance, passiveness, competitiveness, aggressiveness, cooperation, reciprocity, ethnic characteristics, majority, minority, and power; environment, resources and symbiotic relationships; subsistence; ethnic characteristics; relationships and comparative advantage; farming, herding, shopkeeping; literacy, education, and religion; good, real and true; and lifestyle and culture. Select one of these concepts for your own concept analysis to be done through a study of AQ KUPRUK. Hypothesize about what you expect to find associated with the selected concept. Keep a record of these hypotheses and continually test them against the data provided. Develop as many of the concepts as you can. And then determine which you consider most important.

* * * * *

MAHMOUD'S DECISION

Mahmoud looked down at his newborn child. Another girl. His fourth! Mahmoud thought of the small amount of food in the storeroom and of the weakened condition of his herd.

Drought and crop failures had left the family with almost no surplus food. Having nothing to barter at the bazaar he had little chance to get more to eat for his family.

Now he was faced with another mouth to feed. If it had only been a son: a son to help him on the land; a son who could carry on his name; a son whom he could teach to be a man; a son he could be proud of. Instead his wife produced another girl. Sure, she would work in the fields and learn to weave, and bake bread. Perhaps she would even make a good marriage, bringing some wealth and prestige to her own family. But for that he would have to wait many years.

Mahmoud frowned and turned away. He would ignore her. She would cry but soon the crying would stop. Why had Allah seen fit to punish him so?

QUESTIONS TO BE CONSIDERED

1. What do you think Mahmoud has decided to do?
2. Why does Mahmoud think differently of daughters and sons?
3. Is Mahmoud's decision defensible? Why?
4. Will Mahmoud's religion look favorably upon his action? Why?
5. Will Mahmoud's family look favorably upon his action? Why?
6. Will Mahmoud's neighbors look favorably upon his action? Why?
7. Would Mahmoud's decision be accepted in your community? Why?
8. Would Mahmoud's decision be acceptable to you? Why?

MY PILGRIMAGE

"So proud," my mother said, "My son is going to Mecca. Such a good Tajik boy. Now he's a man." What else could I do, all dressed up in my new clothes and red turban, waiting for the truck to carry me to Mazar-i-Sharif. Here I was, setting out on the first portion of my pilgrimage. I smiled. What can I say?

Mazar-i-Sharif was very large, I thought. I had never seen such a grand and beautiful building as the Blue Mosque. Have you seen it? No? Oh, too bad. You really must go to Mazar-i-Sharif and see the Blue Mosque.

I've never been in an airplane before. Sometimes we see them above Aq Kupruk. But they never stop there of course. It is a small town. And there is little flat land—except for the *buzkashi* playing field of course. I saw airplane pictures in books at school. But then... I'm sorry. I'm talking too much. I suppose I'm excited. We must be about the same age. I'm seventeen. How old are you?

Eighteen? I should have known. Have you ever been on a pilgrimage before? Oh look out the window. That must be Kabul. The king used to live there. Look at those buildings and the wide streets. Oh my, just imagine what the holy city of Mecca will be like if this is Kabul.

Do you have a place to stay? Perhaps we could stay together. My cousin is expecting me. I'm sure his family would welcome you too. Please share our hospitality.

* * * * *

1. Is the story *plausible*? Could it happen?
2. Is the *single perspective* maintained throughout the story?
3. To whom is the speaker talking? Where?
4. Can you complete the story, continuing the *hajj* to Mecca and returning the two young men to their Afghan homes?

NOT ENOUGH MILK!

"So little grass. So little milk. Two little goats have died already this week," the mother said sadly. Her six-year-old daughter rubbed her stomach but made no sound.

These *maldar*, nomads, were moving closer to Aq Kupruk every day, choosing the highland trails where the cooler, moister air keeps the grass green. It was autumn and the cool dry winds had already begun to blow. They were a few days later than normal. The drought in the west and south had weakened their animals, slowing their progress. The area around Aq Kupruk was less affected. The nomads expected to rest well there and fatten their herds for winter while trading the merchandise they brought from Herat.

The little girl watched her mother milk a goat. The cup was filled almost to overflowing. Maybe today she would have all she wanted to drink. "No," her mother said, "we will also need yoghurt and dried curds, *kruti*, to sell in the town. If I fill all my yoghurt cups today, tomorrow you may drink all you like."

The little girl strolled away sadly. Every day it was the same. She was too young to understand that her family must have something to sell to the farmers and shopkeepers in Aq Kupruk or they could not stay. The nomads' herds needed to graze the wheat stubble from the newly harvested fields. Without good grazing, they would not survive further travel during the winter ahead.

Only two more days. Would Aq Kupruk be as full of food as she dreamed? The little girl chased a playful goat back toward the herd. Her spirits lifted. Two more days! Maybe she could even sneak into the bazaar with her older brothers.

* * * * *

Explain how the following are related: milk, yoghurt, farmers, nomads, Aq Kupruk, bazaar, rain, grass and wheat stubble, goats, sheep, and cattle.

1. If you were a member of a nomadic family with too little food, what would you do?

2. Discuss the concepts of surplus and shortage in terms of trade relationships. Give examples of either or both from your own experience.

3. Why could the nomads reasonably expect the effect of the drought to be less severe in Aq Kupruk?

4. Is settled agriculture or nomadism more or less vulnerable to climatic variations? To economic changes?

5. In northern Afghanistan, nomads and farmer/townsmen are interdependent. What advantages and disadvantages does each life style produce?

TOO MUCH MILK!

"Too much grass. Too much milk," the nomad mother said laughingly. Her daughter laughed too. These nomads were moving closer to Aq Kupruk each day. The summer grazing had been unusually good. "Fat cows, fat sheep, fat goats. Everything fat," the mother joked again in her native *Pashto* language.

The woman and daughter milked the cows and goats with experienced hands. Fresh milk was used at the next meal. Yoghurt and dried curds would be made by fermenting the remaining milk in an assortment of tin, copper, and wooden containers. In a few days the yoghurt would dry and then more could be made. Milk and fresh and dried yoghurt could be sold at Aq Kupruk. The *maldar* caravan would be there in several days.

Meanwhile, every day there was more and more milk. Everyone drank as much as they wanted. Yoghurt was eaten at every meal. Still the animals gave more milk and all the vessels were filled. Even some of the leather bags usually kept for water were filled with fermenting milk. In Aq Kupruk it could be sold, if it could be kept. No one could remember when such a thing had happened before. Usually there was only enough milk to meet family needs with a little extra for trading and selling. "But this year so much rain," the mother pointed out, "makes too much milk."

* * * * *

1. Explain how the following are related: milk, nomads, Aq Kupruk, bazaar, rain, grass, cows, goats, and yoghurt.

2. If you were a member of the *maldar* nomad family with too much milk, what would you do?

3. Give an example of a surplus food situation which you have experienced.

TOWN ELDERS MEETING

"Now that we are all present, let this meeting begin. Mahmoud, you are our best speaker. Please explain our concerns so that we all may reason carefully about what should be done."

"Thank you, sir. Let me begin this way. The problem concerns the national government and Aq Kupruk. An agent from Kabul is waiting outside. He has papers which say that Aq Kupruk will no longer be the Administrative Center for this District. The papers say that Sholgara is to be the Administrative Center. If the agent is to be believed, we will keep the government building near the bridge. Some officials will stay here. But most will be transferred to Sholgara. It is up to us to meet with the government agent. But some of us believe our first loyalty is to Aq Kupruk. How can this matter be handled so that it is best for Aq Kupruk? That is why we have been called together by the chief elder. I suggest that we discuss the situation now.

1. As an elder, what would you recommend?
2. As a shopkeeper, what would you recommend?
3. As a farmer, what would you recommend?
4. As an employee of the present District Administration, what would you recommend?
5. As local Islamic leader, a *mullah*, what would you recommend?
6. As a young person in the Aq Kupruk school, what would you recommend?
7. As a former Aq Kupruk now living in Sholgara, what would you recommend?
8. As a former Aq Kupruk now living in Kabul, what would you recommend?
9. As a nomad camping at Aq Kupruk, what would you recommend?
10. As the wife of an elder, what would you recommend?

* * * * *

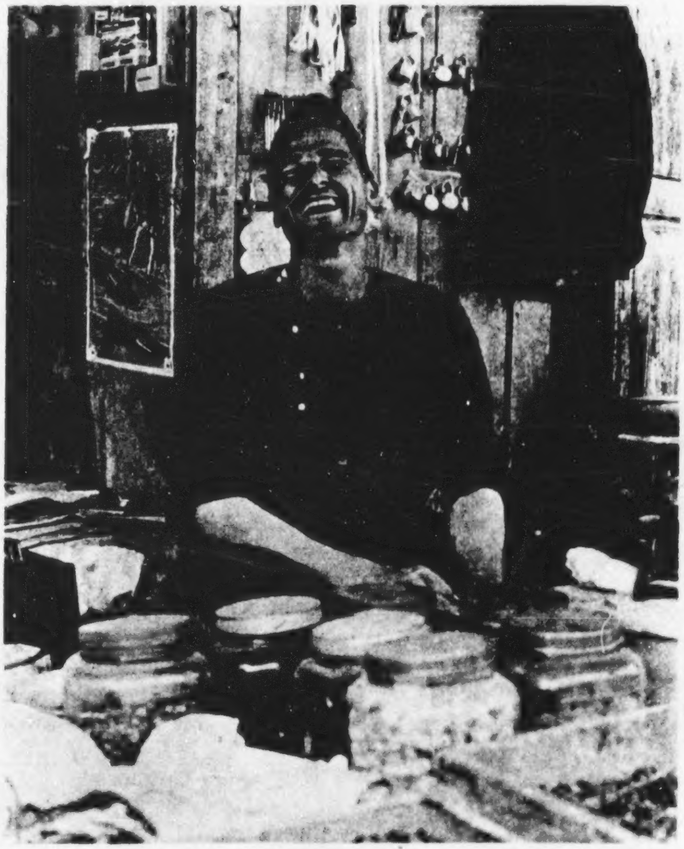
WHAT IS GOING ON?

PHOTOGRAPH ANALYSIS

Photographs provide one form of *imagery*: photographs tell much about supplying new information and giving concrete expression to verbal images. Advantages include *accuracy, detail,* and *consistency of perspective.* Photographs are an inexpensive and reliable process for recording what things were like at a certain place and time. Culture study can make many uses of photographs.

Photographs tell much about AQ KUPRUK, supplying new information and giving concrete expression to verbal images. One example of photographic analysis is suggested below. What can you say about other pictures of AQ KUPRUK.

OBSERVATIONS:



Zippers?

Metal and Paper Containers? Oil? Spices? Tea?

Ballpoint pens?

Poster advertising shoes. Words in *Pashto*.

Nailclipper?

Hat? Sheepskin? Locally made?

Booklets or magazines?

Radio?

A merchant. Written records indicate he is a Tajik shopkeeper in the Aq Kupruk bazaar photographed in 1972. What time of day? What season of the year?

Suit jacket. Used? American or Soviet?

Metal locks with keys?

Is he healthy? Look at teeth and skin.

Shirt with buttons and embroidery.

Scales. Kilograms? Pounds?

These are apparently jars of dried goods. Nuts? Candy? Seeds?

Two boxes of something. Fresh grapes?

QUESTIONS:

What does the photograph show?

What *types* of things are shown?

What *actions* are shown?

Who are the *actors* shown?

What are the *relationships* between actors and things?

What are the *relationships* between things and things?

How *representative* is the photograph? Can it be accepted as evidence for making hypotheses and generalizations?

On the basis of this *photographic imagery* what can we say about: ***the man, the shop, Tajik males, Muslims, Aq Kupruk shopkeepers,*** AQ KUPRUK.

[WRITTEN DATA: The following is handwritten on the back of the photograph: "*Tajik* Shopkeeper-Aq Kupruk," photographed by Josephine Powell, 1972. Photo file picture #13-36JP. AUFS.]

WHAT IS GOOD? WHAT IS REAL? WHAT IS TRUE?

If any questions are basic, surely these are: What is good? What is real? What is true? They are basic philosophical questions to be asked of oneself and of any subject worthy of study.

AQ KUPRUK is the object of study. You have an opportunity to compare what you accept as *good* with what is apparently perceived as *good* among Aq Kupruk people. Praying to God on a regular basis, five times each day, is perceived as *good* among Aq Kupruk and other Muslims throughout Islam. It costs nothing. It requires little time. And it is a regular reminder of the relationships between God and man and duties. How does this compare with the obligations prescribed by your religion?

Studying about AQ KUPRUK is not the same thing as being there. Through descriptions, maps, photographs, simulations of reality, and motion pictures one is exposed to representations of reality at Aq Kupruk. Misinterpretation is one danger. Oversimplification is another. Can what is real ever be determined through studying representations? It's a significant question but too complex for this brief discussion. More important is to continually raise the question. What is real? Can it be known or are all perceptions of reality based upon representations--approximations of reality?

In contrast to what is *real* the question of what is *good* seems simple. After all, why can't we just decide what is good? The dilemma is in different perceptions of *who* should decide and *what* should be decided. Simply to decide what is good may be easy. Getting others to accept that decision may be more difficult. And then, what is *good* in one situation may not be in another. No wonder people have argued the question for thousands of years.

Truth ought to be easily determined. One should be able to go through all materials of a culture and quickly determine what is true. But can physical artifacts and written reports of attitudes and behavior and beliefs ever convey to you, an outsider, the same meaning they convey to actual participants in that culture? Can you ever be sure you have access to *all* the information? The process of seeking truth, for most people anyway, is time consuming, difficult, at times impossible, always provocative.

What is true about Aq Kupruk, the people and the place? Are there, for instance, 3,000 male heads of families living there? Does it matter that the number be exact? If there were 3,000 in 1963, what will be the number in 1993? Quantitative truth is satisfying to some, but is it sufficient? Can you measure other *kinds* of truth? Perhaps it is more important to ask: Is it *true* that life is *good* at Aq Kupruk? Do the materials in AQ KUPRUK *truly* represent what is *real* about Aq Kupruk?

If even tentative and partial answers to these questions can be satisfactorily dealt with in the case of AQ KUPRUK, then the test is whether the same level of objectivity can be maintained when one studies other cultures--including one's own.

* * * * *

WHEN YOUR SON COMES WE WILL LEAVE

"I am sorry but you will have to go. My son will now farm this piece of land when he returns from the army. You have been a good tenant and I will recommend you to any other landowner who needs a man to farm his land. Or maybe there's some other kind of work you could do."

"I too am sorry," replied Mohammad. "I have done the best I can for you and my own family. It is hard to be a farmer without owning land. You have been fair but I cannot help remembering better days—when my family owned land. My father had so much land that each son had a farm. And we had tenants to farm other land as well. But he is dead and we no longer own land. It is difficult to be poor, sir. I am a farmer though and a farmer I must remain."

Sardar, the landowner, spoke. "I pray that you will have better days ahead. If it were not that my son is now grown, you would be welcome to stay. But he must have land. And this is the only land I have for him to farm. Perhaps you can find employment in Sholgara, for it is growing fast. And your children could go to school...."

"But, sir," Mohammad interrupted. "We are Aq Kupruk. My father's, father's, father lived here. And my children have already been to school, right here in Aq Kupruk. Sholgara is too big. Too many people. No. It is best for me to stay here. I know the people. I am a good farmer. I will have faith in Allah as I always have had. Maybe some merchant in the bazaar will need me to farm his land. Thank you for your kindness. When your son comes we will leave."

* * * * *

1. Describe the two *perspectives* presented in the story.

2. Explain the different *perceptions* of the following: *Sholgara, school,* and *moving from Aq Kupruk.*

3. In the *landowner's* position, what would you do?

4. In the *tenant farmer's* position, what would you do?

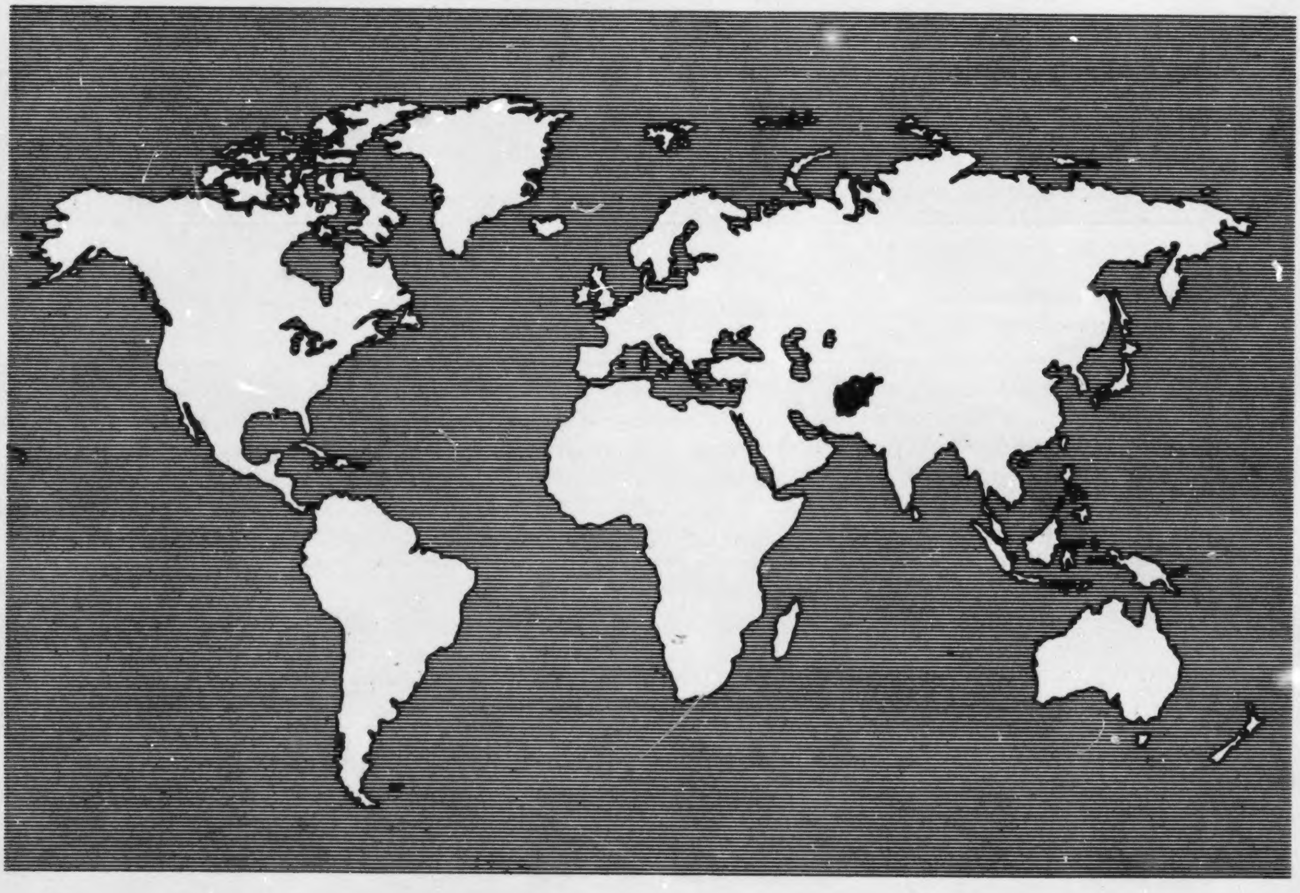
5. In the *tenant farmer's wife's* position, what would you do?

6. In the *landowner's son's* position, what would you do?

WHERE IN THE WORLD IS AQ KUPRUK?

A MAP STUDY TO DEVELOP GEOGRAPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

Halfway between Moscow and Rangoon, Burma. On the opposite side of the globe from the states of Utah and Nevada. North of the equator about the same distance as Memphis, Tennessee and San Francisco, California. Aq Kupruk is a small town in northern Afghanistan in the dry region where the Middle East and Central Asia overlap.



Aq Kupruk is more than a white dot on a world map. The dot merely represents the town which exists on the north flank of the Hindu Kush Mountains in Afghanistan. A topographic map provides more imagery—the details which surround Aq Kupruk. The Balkh River, for instance, flows from snow-capped mountains northward into the Amu Darya River and onward toward the Aral Sea. In terms of uphill and downhill relationships, Aq Kupruk is located some 3,937 feet above sea level (1,200 meters). Higher areas surround the town on all sides except north.

BAZAAR

A DAY AT THE AQ KUPRUK BAZAAR

OVERVIEW

A DAY AT THE AQ KUPRUK BAZAAR is a simulation which attempts to recreate the atmosphere and emotional state of traders present at a town bazaar in a village or small town in Central Asia.

This game can be played one or more times by the group studying "Aq Kupruk," and one time by the whole class, led by a member of the "Aq Kupruk" group.

The game is played in two parts: (1) under a **barter** system (goods are exchanged for other goods) and (2) under a **monetary** system (goods are bought and sold for money). Under both systems, the object is for each player to get the "best deal."

Players have several possible roles which can be alternated: (1) selling, (2) buying, (3) accounting, (4) team meetings, and (5) visiting the teahouse for tea, food, talk, gossip, and/or business.

It is not necessary to determine a winner for the game although a winner or winners may be determined if the players wish. Winners can include those who accumulated the most merchandise or money or both. Or winners can include those who played most vigorously, or those who most improved their position during the course of play. Whatever the players decide is the meaning of winning, the discussion should prove interesting. Meanings of the terms *subsistence, survival, merchandise, barter, trading, monetization, exchange, interaction, "good deal"* and *"best"* can be developed through playing *BAZAAR* and the post-play discussions. Read both the instructions and evaluation suggestions before playing *BAZAAR*.

BAZAAR

A DAY AT THE AQ KUPRUK BAZAAR

PLAYING RULES

(1) Divide class into three teams.

A. Farmers
B. Shopkeepers
C. Nomads

Each team should consult *Notes on the Aq Kupruk Bazaar* to familiarize players with the physical features of the market. Also look at the black and white photograph provided with other materials in this game.

Farmers and **Nomads** organize separately before visiting the shops. Discuss what to get and what to trade and sell. Decide when and where to meet during the trading, perhaps in the teahouse. (It has a capacity of four customers plus an owner and a waiter).

Shopkeepers set up shops with only one or two people tending each. Shops may include: teahouse, cloth shop, new and used clothing shop, a food shop, and a butcher shop.

Craftsmen are included in this category and, like the keeper of a clothing store, they are part-time farmers. Craft shops may include: tinsmith, blacksmith, cobbler, carpentry, leather, and tailor.

Teahouse keeper may serve tea, plain and mint, skewered meat, cooked vegetables, or yoghurt and provide music and reading material.

(2) Give instructions and one merchandise card to each group.

(3) Teams decide among themselves how to divide goods among individuals for trading purposes during the playing of *BAZAAR*. Duties are divided as the group chooses. There may be many traders—or few.

(4) Pass "Need Sheets" labeled "Barter" to each team. One need sheet should be provided for each player within a team and another sheet should be used to maintain the team's record of gains and losses. If pencils are used, the marks can be erased and the sheets may be used again.

(5) Set up the "bazaar" area to resemble the Aq Kupruk bazaar shown in the 8 x 10" photograph. Use desks for shops.
Make 2 rows of desks with the 2 rows facing each other and a center aisle between the two. (Shopkeepers can sit behind desks.) A teahouse with four seats can be anywhere in the row.

(6) Begin trading - Farmers and Nomads may move through the bazaar trading with whomever they wish among the shopkeepers and may also trade among themselves. And they may visit the teahouse though its capacity is only four people at a time.

(7) At the end of a reasonable time period, stop the game and have players record what they have in their possession. (At this time, it is permissible for farmers and shopkeepers to exchange roles since most shopkeepers in Aq Kupruk are also farmers.)

(8) Redistribute all merchandise as it was when the playing started. Pass "Need Sheets" labeled "Monetization" to each group.

(9) Introduce money to the *BAZAAR* system by distributing the following amounts to the respective groups. (A "bank" may be established solely for the purpose of making change. You may want to create "1 afghani" notes.)

Farmers - 160 afghanis
Shopkeepers - 630 afghanis
Nomads - 210 afghanis

(10) Begin buying and selling.

(11) When the game ends, have players record on their need sheets what is in their possession as individuals and also as a group of farmers, shopkeepers, or nomads. Suggestions for post-play participant evaluation are provided on the next page. *BAZAAR* is a simulation designed to acquaint participants with a major form of human activity in Aq Kupruk, a Town in northern Afghanistan. But more than that, *BAZAAR* is a miniature economy quite like many other subsistence, barter, and monetized economies elsewhere in the world. What happens in Aq Kupruk's bazaar happens elsewhere as well. The basic elements of *exchange* and *interaction* are incorporated in *BAZAAR*.

One *Uzbak* and several *Tajik* relax at a teahouse in the Aq Kupruk bazaar.

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BAZAAR

A DAY AT THE AQ KUPRUK BAZAAR

PARTICIPANT EVALUATION

An evaluation session can be conducted by a teacher or an appointed or elected student. The following questions may be helpful in guiding the participant evaluation of what was learned through the simulation.

(1) Which system benefited whom? Barter system or Monetary system? Why?

(2) Did people come out about the same under both systems? Differently? Why?

(3) What goods sold most quickly? Most slowly? Most completely?

(4) Do you think the same pattern of sales would actually have occurred in Aq Kupruk? Why?

(5) What group of people tended to do best? Farmers? Shopkeepers? Nomads? Why?

(6) What type of person did best? Aggressive? Passive? Shrewd? Clever? Trusting? Why?

(7) What did he or she do to perform as well as he or she did?

(8) What system did people prefer? Barter or Monetary? Why?

(9) Which system would work best in our country? Why?

(10) What examples can you give of barter and monetary systems being used in the United States?

(11) Why do you think money was introduced to the Aq Kupruk Bazaar and what were its effects?

(12) What is meant by the following terms: *subsistence, survival, merchandise, barter, trading, monetization, exchange, interaction, "good deal,"* and *"best"*? How are these useful terms?

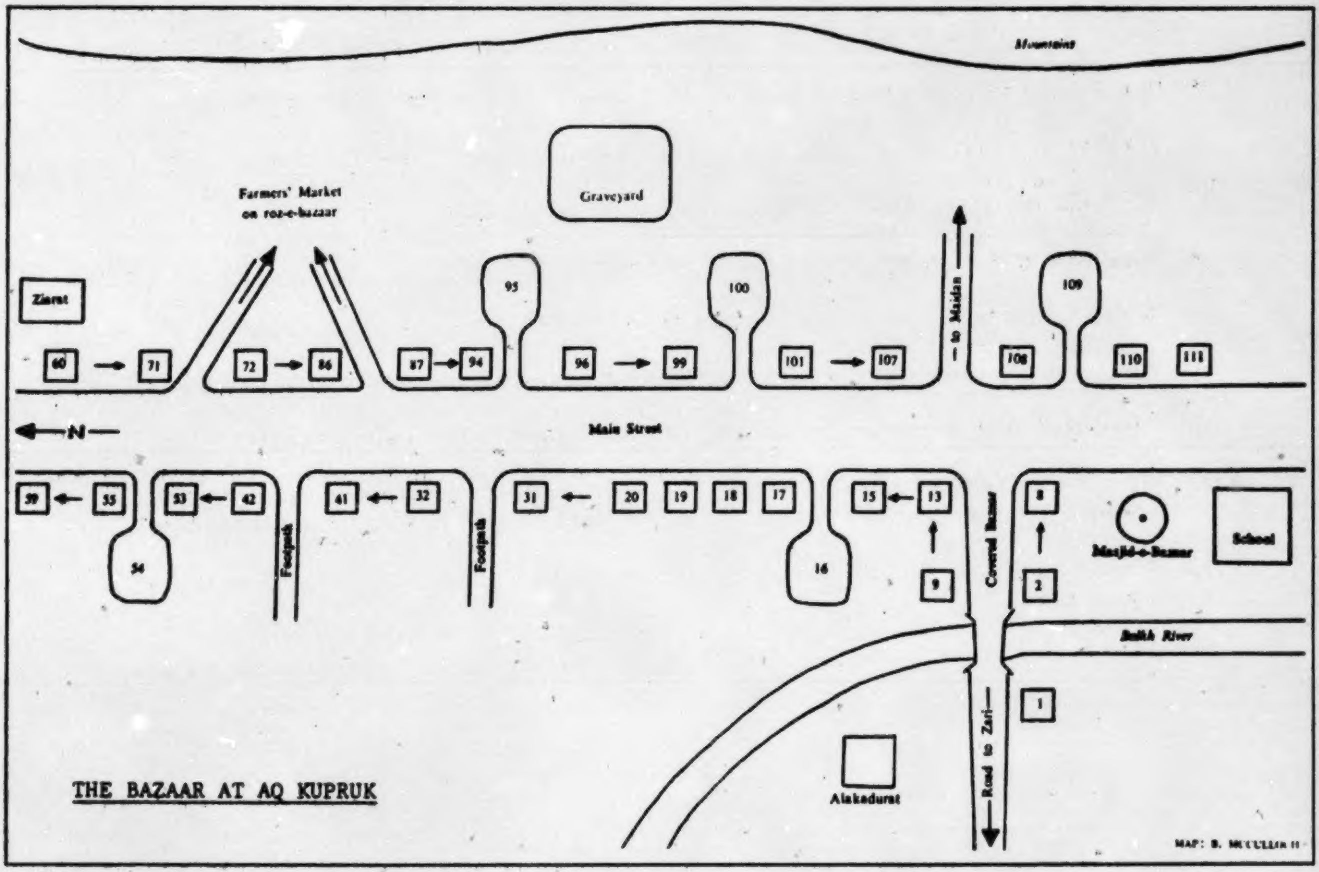
(13) How are Aq Kupruk farmers, nomads, shopkeepers, and trading practices like those in your own culture?

(14) What else would you like to know about the commercial activities of the people of Aq Kupruk?

NOTES ON THE AQ KUPRUK BAZAAR

by Louis Dupree

(Adapted from Louis Dupree, "Aq Kupruk: A Town in Northern Afghanistan," American Universities Fieldstaff Reports, South Asia Series, 1966, pages 19-22.)


Mountains
Graveyard
Farmers' Market
on roz-e-bazaar
Ziarat
60
71
72
86
87
94
95
96
99
100
101
107
— to Maidan —
108
109
110
111
N
Main Street
39
55
54
53
42
Footpath
41
32
Footpath
31
20
19
18
17
16
15
13
9
Covered Bazaar
8
2
Masjid-o-Bazaar
School
Balkh River
1
Road to Zari
Alakadurat

THE BAZAAR AT AQ KUPRUK

MAP: B. MCCULLIN II

BAZAAR SHOPS IN AQ KUPRUK (SUMMER 1965)

Number of Shop on Sketch	Type of Shop	Ethnic Group of Shopkeeper	Shop open every day or just Bazaar Days
1	Teahouse-*serai* (inn)	Tajik from Sangcharak	Every day
2-8	**Bonjaraghi* (general store; plus candy, sugar)	All Sa'adat (Sayyid)	Every day (2,4,8); Bazaar days (3,5,6,7)
9	Teahouse-*serai*	Sa'adat	Everyday
10-12	*Bonjaraghi*	Sa'adat	Every day (10, 12); Bazaar days (11)
13	Teahouse	Sa'adat	Every day
14	Closed shop; now a residence	Tajik resident	—
15	Rice, wheat, corn shop	Tajik	Every day
16	*Caravanserai*	Tajik	Every day
17	*Bonjaraghi*	Tajik	Bazaar days
18	Closed shop	Tajik owned	—
19	Closed shop	Tajik owned	—
20	*Chapon* (coat seller)	Tajik	Bazaar days
21	*Bazazi* (cloth seller)	Tajik	Bazaar days
22-23	Shoe repair	Sa'adat	Bazaar days
24	*Bazazi*	Sa'adat	Bazaar days
25	Dried fruits, melons, corn	Sa'adat	Bazaar days
26	Dried fruits, corn, candy	Sa'adat	Bazaar days
27	Bakery	Tajik, originally from Mazar-i-Sharif	Every day
28	Closed shop	Tajik owned	—
29	*Caravanserai*	Tajik	Every day
30	*Bonjaraghi*; *chapon* (Best shop in town)	Sa'adat	Every day
31	Closed shop	Tajik owned	—
32	Kerosene, dried fruits	Tajik	Bazaar days
33	Closed shop	Tajik owned	—
34	*Bazazi* (good cloth)	Tajik	Bazaar days
35	Closed shop	Tajik owned	—
36	*Bazazi*	Tajik	Bazaar days
37	Small *bonjaraghi* (plus corn, dried fruits)	Sa'adat	Bazaar days
38	*Bazazi* (good cloth, plus dried and fresh fruit)	Tajik	Every day
39	Dyer	Tajik	Bazaar days
40-41	Closed shops	Tajik owned	—
42	*Ahanghar* (blacksmith)	Tajik	Every day
43	Teahouse; salt shop	Tajik	Every day
44	Shoe repair	Tajik	Every day
45	Teahouse (eating place—good *pilau*)	Sa'adat	Bazaar days

* *Bonjaraghi* are shops which specialize in foreign imports, basically general stores. They carry Russian matches, English flashlight batteries, Czech kerosene stoves, Italian ball-point pens, West German hurricane lanterns, Indian mantles for gaslamps, aluminum goods from Pakistan, tea from Pakistan and India, American cigarettes, and similar goods. If a a shop sells local produce as well, I have noted this.

Number of Shop on Sketch	Type of Shop	Ethnic Group of Shopkeeper	Shop open every day or just Bazaar Days
46	Empty serai	Tajik owned	—
47	Closed shop; now a residence	Sa'adat owned	—
48-49	Closed shops	Tajik owned	—
50	Tinsmith (repairs, aluminum, pots, buckets, kettles, etc.)	Tajik	Every day
51	Small bonjaraghi plus some dried fruit	Khoja	Every day
52	Bazazi	Tajik	Bazaar days
53	Bazazi and tailor (khayat)	Tajik	Bazzar days
54	Caravanserai (animals kept here on Bazaar days)	Tajik	Bazaar days
55	Teahouse	Tajik	Bazaar days
56-58	Closed shops	Tajik owned	—
59	Teahouse	Tajik owned	Every day
60	Corn storage depot	Tajik	Bazaar days
61	Bazazi	Tajik	Bazaar days
62	Good bonjaraghi (plus corn, tea, sugar, and fancy shoes)	Tajik	Every day
63	Bonjaraghi (plus corn and fancy shoes)	Tajik	Every day
64	Bonjaraghi	Tajik	Every day
65	Closed shop	Tajik owned	—
66	Bonjaraghi (plus corn, dried fruits, and locally grown tobacco)	Tajik	Every day
67	Bonjaraghi (plus dried fruit, shoes)	Tajik	Every day
68	Bonjaraghi (plus dried fruit, shoes)	Tajik	Every day
69	Bonjaraghi (plus dried fruit, shoes)	Tajik	Bazaar days
70	Skin seller	Tajik	Bazaar days
71	Bonjaraghi (plus dried fruits, onions, shoe repairs)	Tajik	Bazaar days
72	Small bonjaraghi (but mainly dried fruits, melons)	Tajik	Bazaar days
73	Salt shop	Uzbak	Bazaar days
74	Bonjaraghi (plus rice, garlic, tomatoes)	Tajik	Bazaar days
75	Shoe repair	Tajik	Bazaar days
76	Large bonjaraghi	Tajik	Every day
77	Kerosene, salt	Sa'adat	Bazaar days
78	Shoe repair	Tajik	Bazaar days
79	Large bonjaraghi	Tajik	Bazaar days
80	Bonjaraghi (plus shoe repair	Tajik	Bazaar days

Number of Shop on Sketch	Type of Shop	Ethnic Group of Shopkeeper	Shop open every day or just Bazaar Days
81	Melon shop	Tajik	Every day
82	Bonjaraghi (plus chapons)	Tajik	Every day
83	Bonjaraghi	Tajik	Bazaar days
84	Bonjaraghi (plus tea)	Tajik	Bazaar days
85	Bonjaraghi	Tajik	Every day
86	Bonjaraghi (plus shoes)	Tajik	Every day
87	Large bonjaraghi	Sa'adat	Every day
88	Bonjaraghi	Tajik	Bazaar days
89	Bonjaraghi (plus tea and shoes)	Tajik	Bazaar days
90	Bonjaraghi (plus tea, rice, dried fruits)	Sa'adat	Every day
91	Bonjaraghi (plus aluminum dishware, tea)	Sa'adat	Bazaar days
92	Bazazi	Khoja	Every day
93	Bonjaraghi (plus dried fruits, melons)	Tajik	Bazaar days
94	Eating place, teahouse, serais	Sa'adat	Bazaar days
95	Caravanserai	Sa'adat	Every day
96	Biggest tea house in town	Sa'adat	Every day
97	Bonjaraghi (plus aluminum dishware, kerosene)	Tajik	Every day
98	Bazazi	Uzbak	Every day
99	Bazazi	Tajik	Bazaar days
100	Caravanserai	Khoja	Bazaar days
101	Large tea house	Khoja	Every day
102	Butcher shop	Tajik	Bazaar days
103	Butcher shop	Tajik	Bazaar days
104	Butcher shop	Sa'adat	Every day
105	Butcher shop	Tajik	Every day
106	Butcher shop	Sa'adat	Every day
107	Teahouse	Tajik	Every day
108	Bonjaraghi (plus dried fruit, salt)	Tajik	Every day
109	Caravanserai	Tajik	Every day
110	Tea house; serais	Tajik	Every day
111	Caravanserai	Tajik	Every day

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